Crusader Art

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΛΟΥΚΑΣ
Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩ
Ο ΑΓΙΟ ΠΕ ΤΡΟ

CRUSADER ART

The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291

JAROSLAV FOLDA

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Pages 2–3: Detail of the iconostasis beam from the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai (see fig. 102)

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This book is dedicated to the Crusader artists and the local Christian artists who worked for Crusader patrons in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Edessa, the Principality of Antioch, and the County of Tripoli between 1099 and 1291.

For the most part we do not know their names, and much of their art and architecture has disappeared, but in this book we can see some of the wonderful work they did that still survives from the time that the Crusaders occupied what we call the Crusader States in the Holy Land.

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PREFACE

Why have an illustrated book on Crusader Art?

This book is written to tell the story of the art and architecture which the Crusaders commissioned, caused to be made, produced themselves, or otherwise sponsored during the time of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Tripoli, the Principality of Antioch, and the County of Edessa, that is, between 1098 and 1291 in the Holy Land. The story of the Crusades themselves, that is, the expeditions to regain the Holy Land for Christianity, is amazing and complex in itself, but it is a story from Medieval history familiar to many readers. The story of Crusader Art by contrast is very little known, but no less remarkable. At a time when Jerusalem was believed to be the center of the world by European Christians, the Crusaders established themselves in the Holy Land. And while they were there, they generated works of art and architecture which were distinctive in their formal characteristics, impressive in their workmanship, and memorable in their evocation of the rich and diverse backgrounds and traditions of Christians from all over the world. The architecture often resembled Western European buildings in Romanesque or Gothic styles, but further examination will usually reveal strongly Levantine characteristics from Early Christian, Byzantine, Arab Christian and even Muslim sources. The figural arts were creative in their imagery and iconography, multicultural in their content, and often exotic in their color and their ornament. Some of the art was indeed outstanding in quality and some was powerful and even unique. All Crusader Art was done in the Levant, most of it in the Holy Land for "Crusader" patrons by "Crusader" artists. The story of Crusader Art deserves to be more widely known and to take its rightful place as an important chapter in the history of Medieval Art in Europe and the Mediterranean world.

To tell the story of Crusader Art adequately, a richly illustrated book is required. To some extent we can discuss the facts of what was done, when, by whom, why, how, and for what purpose, in the text. But in order to demonstrate the remarkable and distinctive features of Crusader Art and to begin to introduce the reader to the reality of what Crusader Art is, images are essential. This book is handsomely illustrated to help convey something of the reality of what Crusader Art was. The color illustrations can help the reader understand how this art was unusual and different, genuinely Levantine in its circumstances yet important for all of Christendom, and multicultural in the traditions and training of the artists who produced it. As with all Medieval Art, relatively little of Crusader Art survives to the present day, and of what does survive, only some appears exactly the way it was intended to look when it was made. But enough does survive to give us a very clear idea of what Crusader Art and architecture were, how they developed over the nearly 200 years of their existence, and what some of their finest achievements were. This is what the reader will discover in looking through these pages. The illustrations will inform and delight, provide essential examples of what is discussed in the text, and convey ideas and content that will make the discussion meaningful and stimulating.

Crusader Art had many functions. Some of its most important accomplishments were realized in shaping the churches and embellishing the greatest holy sites in Christendom, in particular in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Much Crusader architecture was of course military; it featured impressive strength and power in city walls, fortified gates and towers, all of which were built and rebuilt constantly, and there were also massive castles with remarkable masonry and sometimes with surprising decoration. But as you will see, Crusader Art was not primarily a military art commissioned mainly by military men. Crusader figural art was produced to educate, to inspire, and to delight kings and queens, bishops, nobles, aristocratic men and women, knights, priests, merchants, monks and nuns, and of course, soldiers and pilgrims. It was eminently practical in the form of coins and seals, and prayer books and service books, liturgical vessels and domestic objects, works for public ceremonial and private devotion. Crusader Art also developed as other Medieval Art developed in Europe and the Mediterranean world. Just as icon painting was a central feature of Byzantine Christians in the Orthodox world, the Crusaders admired and appropriated holy images for their own use with their own creative interpretations. Just as secular books written in the vernacular and illustrated with narrative imagery developed in Paris in the mid-thirteenth century, the Crusader settlers commissioned their own secular books of history, law, and literature according to their

own tastes in the Holy Land. Crusader Art is also surprising in its diversity, in its quality, and in its richness of form, color and ornament.

In this book an attempt has been made to show you, the reader, something important about what Crusader Art is. The works of art reproduced are essential in telling this story, but of course what is illustrated is only a selection. As you read you may wish to see other pictures or find out more information about the works mentioned in this book. Notes in the text provide some references for important works. A list of publications for further information is also included at the back of this book. And you may, of course, directly consult the two scholarly volumes on which this introductory text is based: Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), and Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

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Jaroslav Folda
Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 22 December 2007

INTRODUCTION:

What is Crusader Art?

The Crusades, which began as expeditions called by the pope to regain the Holy Land and liberate the oppressed Christians living there, were one of the most important and recognizable features of the European Middle Ages. They are widely known today through a variety of media. We have seen a steady stream of history books such as James Reston's, *Warriors of God* (2001) or Christopher Tyerman's, *God's War* (2006), numerous historical novels starting with Sir Walter Scott's, *The Talisman* (1825), and a number of recent movies and special presentations on television such as Ridley Scott's film *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005). Much of what these presentations focus on, of course, is the political and military confrontation of the Crusaders with the Muslims, on victory and defeat in battle, on hardships and challenges, diplomacy and negotiation, on devastation and loss. Positive, creative activity by the Crusaders is rarely spotlighted. Indeed one of the least known aspects about the Crusades is the art that was commissioned by the Crusaders in the Holy Land from the time they took Jerusalem in July 1099, to the time they were pushed into the sea by the Mamluks in 1291.

The result is that if today, someone – the proverbial educated lay reader – were asked to name a work of Crusader Art, the likely answer might be a church in Jerusalem such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or even the beautiful little Church of St. Anne, or it could be a Crusader castle, like Crac des Chevaliers, the most famous of all Crusader fortifications. In this respect the general knowledge and awareness about Crusader Art has changed very little since the nineteenth century when the first studies by French scholars were published. The answer, in other words, continues to be some work of Crusader architecture still standing in the Near East.

What we know now, however, is that the richness and impressiveness of Crusader Art is seen and understood only in a limited way through its surviving architecture. In fact, it is in the remarkable examples of its surprisingly abundant painting – in manuscript illumination, in fresco painting, in mosaics, and in icon painting – and in the surviving examples of figural and non-figural sculpture, that we discover the full scope of its multicultural variety and the diverse origins and training of its artists.

In this book I want to look at and recognize how Crusader Art is a unique, Near Eastern phenomenon. Crusader Art must therefore be viewed from the perspective of the Near East in order to foreground its remarkable Levantine character. No doubt it is an art which is linked to Western European artistic traditions in the countries from which the Crusaders came, but it is strongly tied to the Byzantine artistic tradition, which was the major Christian art the Crusaders found when they arrived in the Near East. This means that Crusader Art is not simply a Western European art and it is certainly not a colonial art; it is a unique, dynamic artistic development in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean world. It is an art that in some sense developed simultaneously among and out of Christian traditions from the Greek East and the Latin West, and ultimately drew on Islamic and even Mongol traditions as well.

What are the characteristics of this art; who are the artists; how is it unique? Clearly, one of the most important aspects of Crusader Art is the multicultural richness it embodies, unlike anything we find in Western Europe at this time. It is an art created *de novo* in the Near East mostly by artists resident there whose ancestry links them back to various regions in the West. But we are increasingly realizing today that these artists are mostly strongly tied to the local East Christian artistic traditions that the Crusaders found and these artists learned about in the Holy Land. Along with the enormously important Byzantine tradition of the Greek Orthodox, I refer also to the artistic traditions of the Syrian Orthodox or Jacobites, Syrian Melchites, the Armenians, and the Copts, as well as the Maronites, and others. Pilgrims to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries constantly remark on the multiplicity of peoples in the Near East, and we see today how this multiplicity engendered a special art attuned to its multicultural context.

Besides its multicultural Christian characteristics, Crusader Art was also unique because it was created in the Holy Land, that is, the special place where the three monotheistic religions came together. First, of course, Jerusalem and the Holy Land was the home of Judaism, the homeland of the Jews. Second, the same Holy Land was the home of Christianity, the land of Jesus, Mary and Joseph,

and the apostles. Since the fourth century, Christians had come on pilgrimage to visit the Holy Sites at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. Finally, Jerusalem was the third holiest site in Islam, where the 'farthest mosque' was located (*Qu'ran*, Surah 17:1) – the Al-Aqsa Mosque – from Muhammad's *mi'raj*, his night journey. This special concurrence and the immediacy of these religions in the Holy Land left their impact on the Crusaders and on Crusader Art, not so directly perhaps with regard to Judaism, but more notably from Islam. Islamic influence in Crusader Art can be seen to strengthen and develop quite explicitly, especially in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Overall, Crusader Art is the product of a profoundly religious culture that was begun and developed in the Holy Land by Europeans who had settled there during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. What is remarkable about this phenomenon is that first, Crusader Art managed to be catholic (with a small "c") and was remarkably open to Near Eastern ideas rather than narrowly parochial in its creative inspiration. Second, Crusader artists were creative and produced an art that was dynamically developing despite the almost continual state of war that engulfed all four Crusader States in Syria–Palestine.

So, what is Crusader Art? In the twelfth century it is mostly religious art. It is churches, architectural sculpture, frescoes, mosaics, liturgical vessels, gilded and decorated service books in Latin, painted ecclesiastical prayerbooks also in Latin, gold and silver reliquaries, all done in the Holy Land. It is art that is meant to serve many functions. It is a pilgrimage art, an ecclesiastical art, a royal art for kings and queens; it is art for the great military orders of the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Teutonic Knights; it is art for members of the aristocracy and for the merchants. It is also secular art in the form of castle and city fortifications with eastern and western features of military architecture as well as sculpted and painted decorations. It is distinctive Crusader coinage with motifs drawn from both East and West, some religious and some secular.

In the thirteenth century, we continue to find religious art and architecture, with a tremendous amount of secular urban and castle fortifications as well. But the Crusaders also introduce much new secular art in illustrated books after about 1250, a development very closely parallel to what was happening in Paris at the time. Crusader pilgrimage art continues, but it shifts away from the architecture and architectural decoration of the three major holy sites that the Crusaders control less and less, and becomes focused on other sites and on icons and manuscripts, that is, portable objects for the pilgrims. It is also an art for a broader and fuller range of Crusader society: for kings and queens, for bishops, priests and monks, for knights, nobles and devout women of means, and for pilgrims, bourgeois businessmen and merchants, both individually and as members of various organizations such as confraternities. As always, it is an art done to some extent for pilgrims or soldiers who took the cross, came on Crusade, and then went home. But it is an art especially done for settlers who stayed in the Crusader East in the wake of the great expeditions, by second-, third-, or later-generation Crusader artists who also lived and worked in the Latin East. It is an art for nobles and non-nobles, who wanted decorated prayerbooks or new historical texts in the vernacular Old French. It is an art for pious women in the Crusader States who were probably mostly members of the aristocracy, many of whom must have been wives, mothers, or widows of Crusaders. Crusader Art is all of these things and more, and all of it is done in the Crusader States in the Holy Land: this means in the kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291), the Principality of Antioch (1098–1268), the County of Tripoli (1109–1289), and the short-lived County of Edessa (1098–1144).

If so little is known about Crusader Art today, why is it important, then and now? Crusader Art is particularly significant because in the European Middle Ages – the era between Roman antiquity and the Renaissance – Jerusalem and the Holy Land was identified as the center of the Christian world. When the Crusaders arrived in Jerusalem in 1099 and established four Crusader States in the Holy Land, they also began to create a new art, drawing on the resources of the Christian Near East, especially the Orthodox East, combining the Byzantine with their native traditions from the Latin West. The art they created was immediately important because it was located at the heart of Christendom, the holy places where Jesus was born, lived, died, was resurrected, and ascended to heaven.

This new art constituted a momentous and important new development.

Consider the circumstances in the late eleventh and the early twelfth centuries. When Pope Urban II issued the call for the First Crusade at Clermont in 1095, he lamented how the Muslims were in control of the Christian holy sites, how some of them had desecrated the Holy Sepulchre, and how they were oppressing the Christians who lived in the Near East. Christians from Western Europe were called upon to liberate the Holy Land and safeguard Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. In the wake of the success of the First Crusade the Crusaders were able to place these holy sites under their care. Almost immediately they began to renovate and refurbish them and to create art that would effectively and gloriously express the importance and uniqueness of these places for all Christians who came there on pilgrimage. Scenes of the life of Christ and the Virgin, and images of the saints, could of course be found all over the Christian world, but the art created here in the Holy Land was special. The Crusader artist was called on to express something of the unique character and significance of these events in this new art. Part of the uniqueness of this new Crusader Art and architecture was to be found in the location where it was made, at the very places where Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and the apostles, had lived and died. Part of its significance also resided in its developing ecumenical message, a message to all Christians, not just to Latin or Greek Christians. It was an art to be seen by Jews and Muslims as well. And it was an art that in some cases could be taken home by pilgrims, wherever home was, and would reflect something of their authentic Christian experience at the holy places they had visited.

Crusader Art is important therefore as a unique and major chapter in the history of Medieval Art. Today, Crusader Art is important because it is an art that is nowhere and simultaneously somewhere and everywhere in Europe, the Near East and even in North America. It is "nowhere" because the Crusaders were driven out of the Holy Land in 1291, and no Crusader kingdom survived as a political entity to preserve a "national artistic heritage" or patrimony like other countries in Europe. Of course Crusader buildings remained *in situ*, even if many were taken over and given new functions for new people. So some Crusader Art is still on the ground in its original sites. But most of the painting, sculpture, metalwork and other portable works of art constitutes a whole spectrum of refugee art, most of which has only been reidentified in modern times in European or American collections far from their places of origin. This means that the Crusader Art that was dispersed now unites us: we search for it; we find examples in museums, libraries, archives and other national institutions far and wide; we try to reconstruct its fascinating origins and characteristics. And the very fact that research can and does continue on Crusader Art in the war-torn Near East today, gives us hope that someday, perhaps someday soon, peace might break out even there just as it often has in Europe and America.

In any case the fact is that Crusader Art began in the early twelfth century in a war-torn land, and this art changed and developed rapidly as the fate of the Crusaders in the Holy Land played out on the stage of Syria–Palestine between 1099 and 1291. What began initially as a Western European-inspired art in the Holy Land and then quickly developed into a Byzantino-Romanesque Crusader Art that celebrated the events of the life of Jesus in Palestine, in 1135, eventually ended as a French Gothic Crusader Art that illustrated the deeds of the Crusaders themselves, in 1291. How this development occurred; why these dramatic artistic shifts came about: this is the story I wish to tell in this book. And in the epilogue I will offer some comments on why this Crusader Art, once so robust and influential, disappeared so precipitously from the European artistic consciousness by about 1325. This is in sharp contrast to the way the ideals and goals of the Crusades – to regain the Holy Land in the name of Christianity – only very gradually faded as a political, religious, and moral imperative in the late Middle Ages by 1500.

1

Phase One of Crusader Art

The Christian Holy Sites and the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine 1099–1187

When the armies of the First Crusade camped outside the walls of Constantinople in 1096 and 1097, having arrived from the West *en route* to the Holy Land, the Crusaders must have been enormously impressed. What they saw was one of the biggest cities in Christendom, with massive fortified walls, and numerous large domed churches, including of course the great church of Haghia Sophia. It was also a famous city with a reputation for legendary riches. This experience was repeated *mutatis mutandis* several more times, especially as they approached Nicaea in 1097, Antioch in 1098, and Jerusalem in 1099. Previously most Crusaders probably had not traveled much farther from home than their nearest market town, so the delicious novelty and the intriguing strangeness of these huge walled cities must have been intoxicating and fearsome. And given the fact that after leaving Constantinople the Crusaders faced difficult sieges at three different major cities, but eventually captured them all, especially Jerusalem, one of the most strongly fortified cities in the Near East, their success was almost miraculous.

What they found when they took Jerusalem must have been new and very different. The regions from which the First Crusaders came were widespread and varied, including the Lorraine, the Meuse Valley, Normandy, the Ile de France, and southern France, as well as South Italy, but they were all Western European. Artistically what the Crusaders found when they arrived in the Eastern Mediterranean area was art and architecture that reflected a very different set of traditions in a very diverse and multicultural socio-religious and artistic milieu. How long would the Crusaders who decided to settle in the Near East cling to their familiar western traditions when they commissioned and created new art in their new homeland? No doubt the Crusaders carried with them portable art objects, both religious and secular from the West, things like prayerbooks and liturgical objects. They also had painted banners, arms and armor, and they brought currency from Europe, including coins from Valence and Lucca in wide circulation. When would they begin to see, to understand and to learn from the art – architecture, sculpture, metalwork, frescoes, mosaics, manuscripts, and icons, among other works – they found in Syria–Palestine once they started living in the Holy Land, a new, challenging, and exciting residential situation?

Opposite: Detail from Psalter of Queen Melisende (see fig. 13)

The Beginnings of Crusader Art

On June 6, 1099, knights of the First Crusade rode victoriously into Bethlehem, welcomed by the Christian inhabitants of the town. A Crusader banner was placed on the Church of the Nativity (fig. 1). Meanwhile, the main army arrived at Neby Samwil, the mosque of the prophet Samuel on the old Roman road to Jerusalem, where they had their first glimpse of the Holy City. Standing at this vantage point like thousands of pilgrims before them, they cried out, "Montjoie," expressing great joy at having finally arrived safely at the center of their world.

The capture of Bethlehem was unopposed, but Jerusalem was only taken after a difficult siege fought against its Fatimid Muslim defenders (fig. 2). When the First Crusaders captured Jerusalem on July 15, 1099, the Christian written sources reported that virtually no Muslim was left alive. Whatever the case, for the Crusaders their first act following the conquest was to give abundant thanks for such a great victory. Fulcher of Chartres, a well-educated priest on the First Crusade, reported on the fervent experience of the religious fulfillment of the Crusaders' vows:

> The clergy and laity, going to the Lord's Sepulcher and His most glorious Temple, singing a new canticle to the Lord in a resounding voice of exultation, and making offerings and most humble supplications, joyously visited the holy places as they had long desired to do.
>
> Oh day so ardently desired! Oh time of times the most memorable! Oh deed before all other deeds![1]

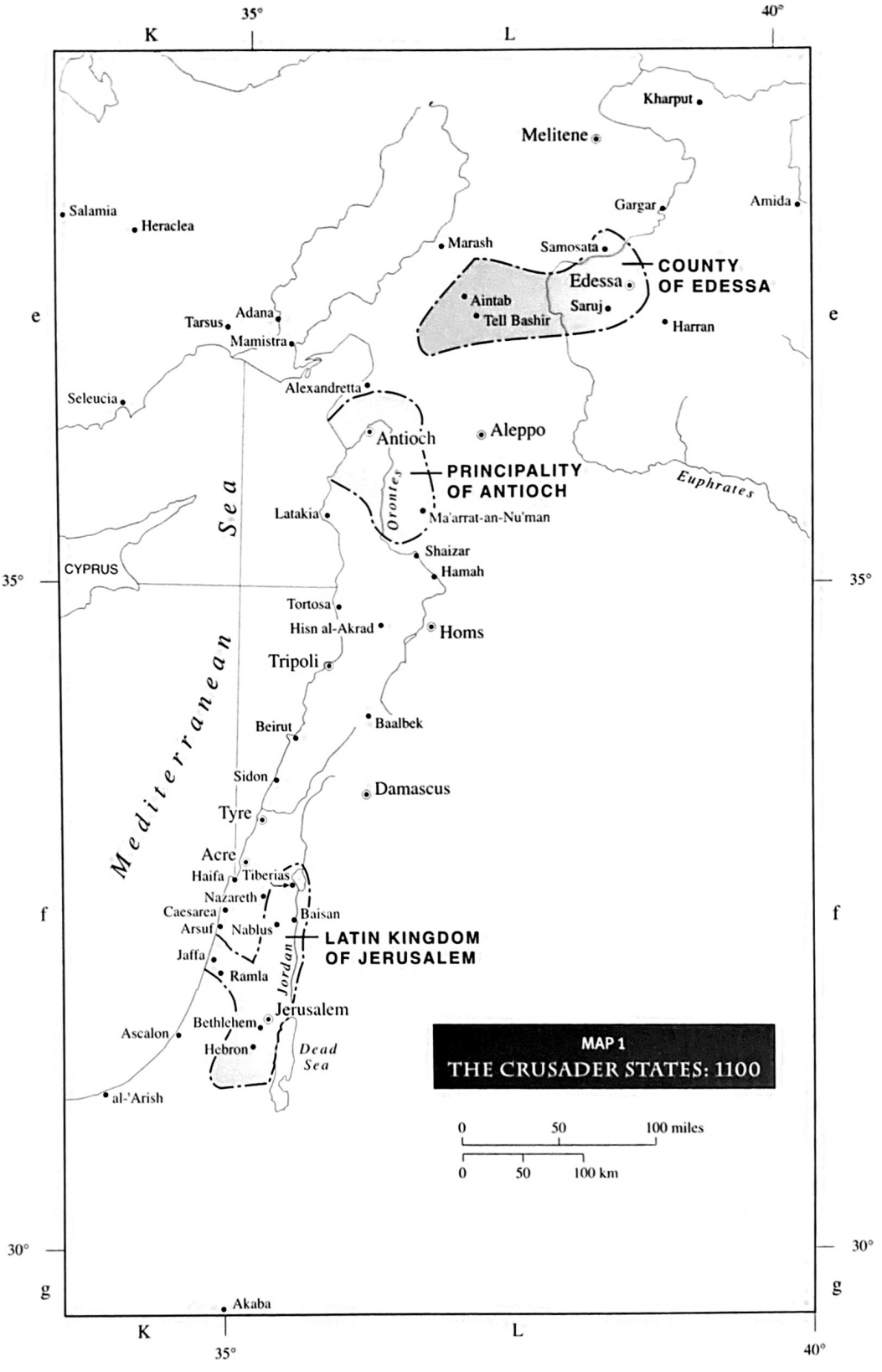
Once established in Jerusalem and Bethlehem by the end of July, the Crusaders hastened to elect a political ruler, Duke Godefroy of Bouillon, who took the title, "*advocatus sancti sepulchri*." The Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem had meanwhile died, so a Norman, Arnulf of Chocques, was chosen on August 1 as the new leader of the church. A week later Patriarch Arnulf recovered a relic of the True Cross. This sacred relic was immediately taken into battle, along with a relic of the Holy Lance, which had been found in Antioch. A Muslim relieving army, sent from Cairo, engaged the Crusaders, who had marched hastily southward, near Ascalon on the south coast. With the True Cross as their new palladium – their new safeguard – the Crusaders won another great victory on August 12, 1099.

There can be no doubt, the success of the all-volunteer army of the First Crusade was extraordinary, a hard-won gift from God after the arduous overland march from Europe, numerous battles and three major sieges, all of which had taken approximately three years. So remarkable was this achievement that the First Crusade immediately became legend, and its participants celebrated as heroes. But, as Jonathan Riley-Smith described it, "The First Crusade had been fought to recover Jerusalem and its shrines. ... The first western settlers, few and isolated, were unprepared for the task that faced them, although they knew well that the *raison d'être* of their settlement was the maintenance and protection of the holy places."[2] As evidence of their intent to maintain a permanent presence in the Holy Land, the Crusaders not only elected a resident leader, Godefroy de Bouillon, established new political states and installed a new Latin church hierarchy, they also began to produce works of art that identified and celebrated the religious sites they now controlled. The new states were the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Principality of Antioch, the County of Edessa, and eventually, by the end of 1109, the County of Tripoli (Map 1). It took several years for the new settlers to consolidate their conquests after 1099, and very little Crusader Art work survives from the three northern states of Edessa, Antioch and Tripoli. The main medium in those places is coinage.[3] It is only in the Latin Kingdom that artistic activity can be observed more or less continuously through the twelfth century. The initial works of art were mostly focused on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity, and on relics or images connected to those sites.

The first major festival the Crusaders celebrated that year in the Holy Land was Christmas, and many high nobles, joined by a new papal legate, Daimbert of Pisa, came to Bethlehem on December 25, 1099 to worship at the site of

1. (opposite) Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, view of the west façade
Today this has the remnants of later construction that dwarfs the main single portal. In the Crusader period a mosaic of the Three Magi decorated this exterior west wall.

2. Jerusalem, view of the city with major monuments
The view of the Holy City from the Mount of Olives, that is, from the east, highlights the Haram al-Sharif with the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, to the far right of which the two domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre can be seen in the distance. The Golden Gate is just below and to the right of the Dome of the Rock.

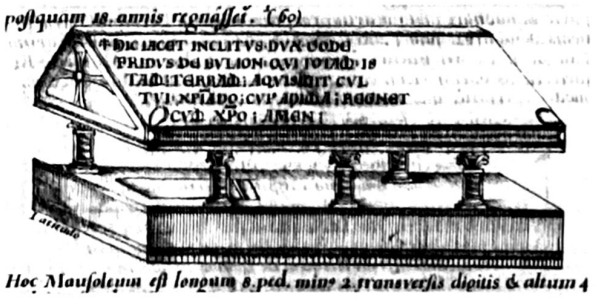


MAP 1
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1100

Christ's birth. No doubt a similar pilgrimage took place on the following March 25 in Nazareth, the feast of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary and the Incarnation of Christ. And at Easter, April 1, 1100, in Jerusalem, Daimbert, having recently become the new patriarch, led the solemn observances of Holy Week and Easter Sunday for the worshippers in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, noble and ordinary pilgrims as well.

Then suddenly, unexpectedly, Godefroy de Bouillon died of an illness on July 18, 1100. After five days of mourning, he was placed in a tomb located on the southern side of the courtyard – the *Triporticus* – of the Byzantine Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been rebuilt in the 1040s. This tomb was seriously damaged in 1244 and destroyed in the fire of 1808, but a sixteenth-century drawing suggests what it looked like in 1100 (fig. 3). It was a western-style free-standing tomb, the first of eight such tombs of the Crusader kings. It was also the first major work of Crusader Art from Jerusalem.

Following the death of Godefroy de Bouillon, Baldwin of Boulogne, Count of Edessa, was elected as his successor, but unlike his brother, he agreed to be consecrated king of Jerusalem. His coronation took place on Christmas Day, 1100, in the sixth-century Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, at which Daimbert Patriarch of Jerusalem presided. Christmas Day was the traditional western Medieval choice for coronations, so Bethlehem was the perfect venue. The Church of the Nativity was the largest and most splendid church at any major holy site controlled by the Crusaders. And by staging the event in Bethlehem, the Crusaders established the Church of the Nativity as the coronation church of the Latin Kingdom. This meant that in addition to its status as one of the premier dominical pilgrimage churches in the Holy Land, that is, a pilgrimage site associated with the life of Christ, it was now a state church as well.



3. Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: drawing of the tomb of Godefroy de Bouillon

This sketch is found in Vat. Lat. MS 9233, by Elzear Horn, dating from the late sixteenth century. The original inscription is here much abbreviated. The covering element raised on short columns marks the tomb as being the burial monument of an important person.

In giving the sermon that set the First Crusade in motion, the charismatic Pope Urban II, speaking at Clermont on November 27, 1095, had specified goals of capturing the holy places ardently sought by Christian pilgrims and of liberating those eastern Christians living in the Holy Land from Muslim oppression. By the end of 1100, the Crusaders had taken control of the major holy sites at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem associated with the incarnation, birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus. And a new chapter in the history of Medieval Art had begun.

During the following decade, 1100–1110, more Crusaders arrived from the West, and additional battles were fought against the Fatimids, in 1101, 1102, and 1105.[4] Tripoli was captured in 1109, and the County of Tripoli became the fourth Crusader State. Most of the Crusaders, having fulfilled their vows, returned home but a small core of Frankish settlers joined the members of the church and the mostly Italian merchants in populating the new Crusader States. Meanwhile, as pilgrimage began to increase, new attention was paid to the holy sites, especially the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

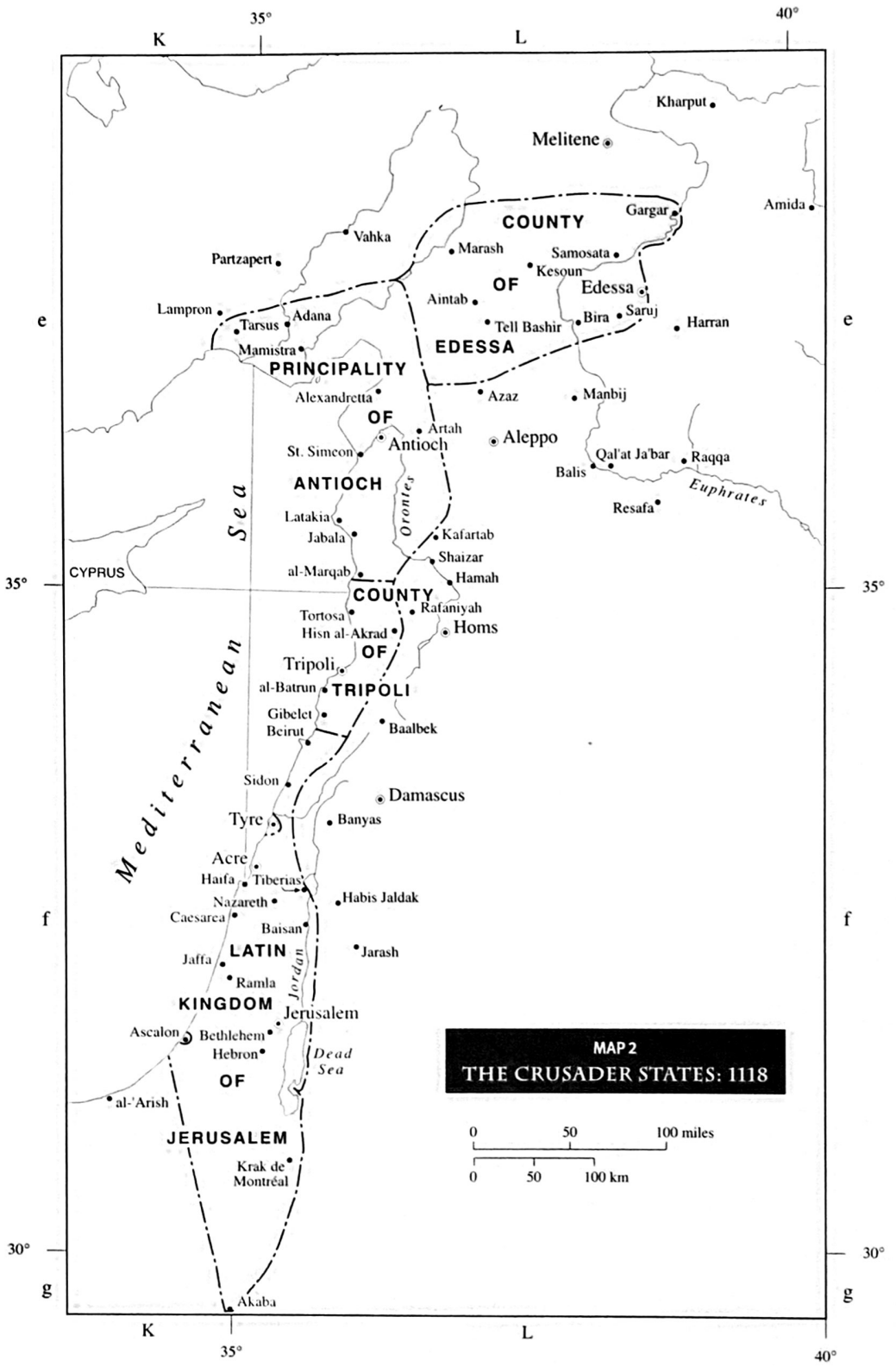
Twenty new canons (priests) were appointed to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1103 and the new patriarch, Arnulf, reappointed in 1112, organized these canons as living in community according to the Augustinian rule. Accordingly a cloister complex was built on the east side of the *Triporticus* of the Holy Sepulchre. Designed in the manner of a western monastery, it had along with its cloister, a chapter house, dormitory, refectory (fig. 4), and a small infirmary. Once these conventual buildings were operational by 1118, the rebuilding of other parts of the church itself began.

4. Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: view of the remains of the refectory built by the Crusaders
The refectory vaults visible here rise above the mud huts of the Ethiopian monks who live in the Crusader cloister today. The tower in the distance is from the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer on the site of the Crusader church of St. Mary Latin, and the east end of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is to the right, just out of view.

Early pilgrims' reports mention a number of holy sites in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These include, of course, the tomb and its aedicule, or sheltering structure, the Calvary Chapel on Golgotha, the place of 'compas' or center of the earth, just east of the apse of the rotunda, as well as the Prison of Christ chapel, and the underground chapel of St. Helena and below that, the grotto of the Holy Cross. The Russian pilgrim Daniel (1106–1108) also specifically records that a new, larger than life-size, standing figure of Christ in silver had been erected over the cupola of the aedicule. No doubt Daniel, who was an Orthodox monk, was struck by this new western-type decoration on the aedicule, in contrast to the usual eastern use of icons for such purposes. There can be no doubt that Crusader Art mostly began along very western lines, but as we shall see it would change remarkably in the 1120s and 1130s.

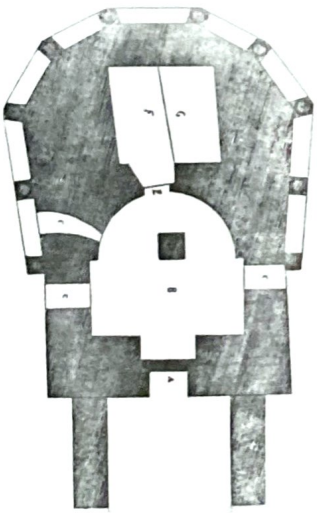
When King Baldwin I died in 1118, his tomb – also a western free-standing type – was placed next to that of his predecessor, Godefroy. It was also the tomb of a king placed near that of Jesus Christ, the King of kings. With the creation of this tomb, the venerable Church of the Holy Sepulchre – the most sacred pilgrimage site in Christendom – also became the pantheon of the Crusader kings.

Following the funeral of Baldwin I on Palm Sunday, 1118, his cousin Baldwin of Edessa was elected by a great council to become the second Crusader king (Map 2). Consecrated in April 1118, he was eventually crowned in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, on Christmas Day, 1119, with his Armenian wife, Morphia. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre attention now returned to the aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1119 the aedicule was enlarged (figs. 5 and 6). It was given a new covering of richly carved marble



MAP 2
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1118

5. (right) **Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre as seen today**
This is a reconstruction carried out in 1809 after the fire of 1808. The three main elements seen in the medieval plan are still found today, but the structural integrity of this nineteenth-century monument is questionable, necessitating the external steel reinforcing beams.



6. (above) **Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: plan of the aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre in 1597**
This plan made by Bernardo Amico in 1593–7 reflects the reconstruction of the aedicule in 1555 by Boniface of Ragusa. It retains the basic configuration of the medieval aedicule with the main entrance, the chapel of the Angel, and the tomb chamber itself divided in half, part for the stone slab, and part for the visitor.

apparently with "eastern decoration," along with eastern-type mosaic decoration. At the same time the Sepulchre itself was also sheathed in marble, with three holes in the south side to facilitate pilgrims' seeing the original stone slab inside. Somewhat later in the twelfth century, *c.* 1180, the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel I, would also sponsor a golden cover over the stone where the body of Christ had been laid out in the tomb, an example of the way Byzantine and Crusader artistic work was sometimes combined directly.[5]

It is at this point, in the 1120s during the reign of Baldwin II, that Fulcher of Chartres wrote an important text towards the end of his *History of Jerusalem*. In a famous passage written about 1127 he describes life in the Crusader East as follows:

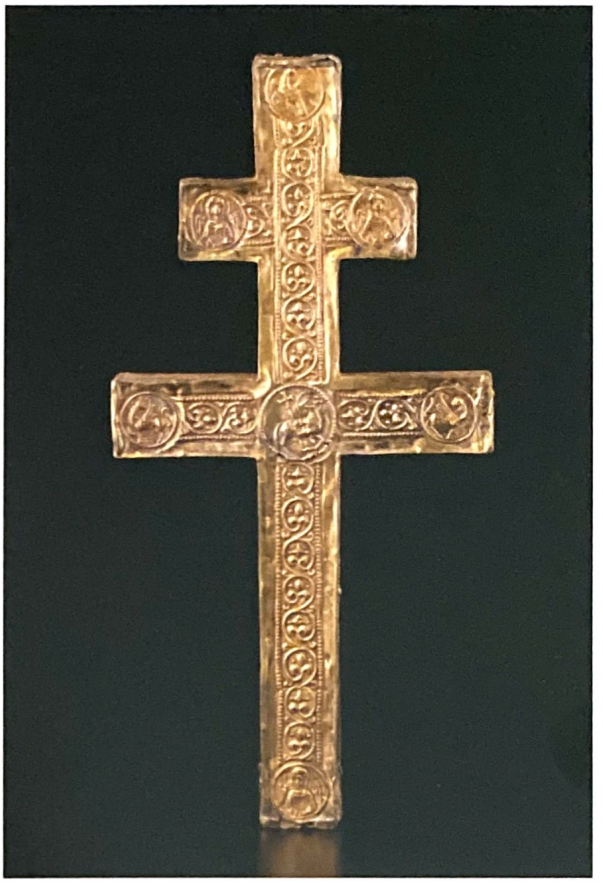
> For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; ... .
>
> ... Some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians [like king Baldwin II] or even Saracens [Muslim Arabs or Turks] who have obtained the grace of baptism. ...
>
> ... People use the eloquence and idioms of diverse languages in conversing back and forth. Words of different languages have become common property known to each nationality, ... He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was born an alien has become as a native.
>
> ... Those who were poor in the Occident, God makes rich in this land. Those who had little money there have countless bezants here. ...
>
> Therefore why should one return to the Occident who has found the Orient like this? God does not wish those to suffer want who with their crosses dedicated themselves to follow him, ...[6]

Fulcher is telling us how those European Crusaders who took the cross, came to the Holy Land and settled there have been transformed; he is explaining that they are becoming Near Easterners. They are often called Franks, which legally meant that they were Christians of the law of Rome. But a Frank does not necessarily refer to someone from Western Europe. As Bernard Hamilton has explained, anyone – eastern Christian or even Muslim – could enjoy full legal rights as a Frank if he were received into the Catholic Church. Although Fulcher does not mention them specifically, some of these Franks were, of course, Crusader artists. As we shall see, they begin developing new interests, moving away from what seem to be the strictly western characteristics of Crusader Art of the first generation of settlers, to an art that starts to reflect the multiculturalism of the Crusader East. Crusader Art started to become an art that reflected the interests of its resident Frankish patrons.

Meanwhile, the relic of the True Cross continued to gain importance as the royal military ensign. The king carried it with him on military campaigns during the 1120s, and when it was in Jerusalem it stayed in its chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

And because of the identification of the Crusaders with the cross as the symbol of their vow, as well as the identification of the king with the True Cross, relics of the True Cross became extremely highly desirable gifts and bequests among pilgrims and noble visitors to Jerusalem. One such bequest that survives today is the True Cross reliquary that was taken to the Monastery of Denkendorf near Stuttgart in Germany.

About 1130 a golden reliquary of the True Cross was made in Jerusalem, an example that reflects the importance of metalwork as a popular medium of the new Crusader Art starting as early as *c.* 1120 (figs. 7 and 8). Goldsmiths with Western European names constitute the most numerous group of early Crusader artists documented in Jerusalem in the 1130s, but in this reliquary we can already see they are beginning to incorporate specific "Crusader" aspects in their work. First, the golden vessel contains pieces of the cross of Christ and bits of stone from the Holy Sepulchre. Second, the most notable feature of the reliquary is its double-armed cross shape, a distinctive Crusader shape indicating the True Cross, derived from Byzantine sources and seen also on Crusader seals. These eastern aspects are combined with western features such as the splendor of red, blue-green, and lilac stones combined with pearls that form the border of the True Cross fragments and surround the quatrefoils with stone pieces from the Holy Sepulchre on the front. On the back we find medallions containing the

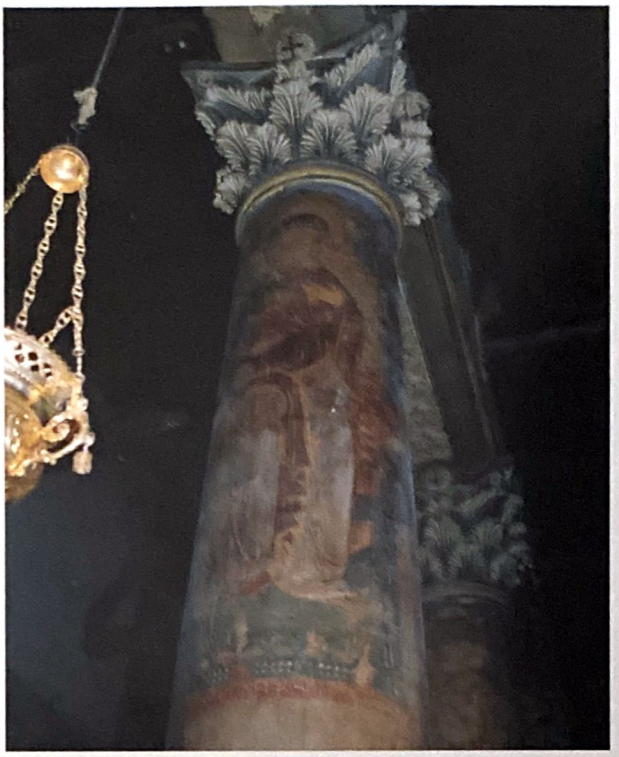


7. (left) **Reliquary of the True Cross from Denkendorf, Germany: front (23.0 cm h)**
This has the distinctive shape symbolising the True Cross utilised by the Crusaders, based on Byzantine precedents. The relic was displayed in the slits surrounded by prominent decoration. The six quatrefoils embellish round mounts containing thin pieces of rock taken from the Holy Sepulchre.

8. (above) **Reliquary from Denkendorf: back (23.0 cm h)**
The back of the reliquary has received a vine-scroll design to suggest the cross as the "tree of life." This is combined with medallions containing symbols of the four evangelists and, in the center, an image of the *Agnus Dei*. The attribution to Jerusalem can be made on the basis of comparative metalwork design by Crusader goldsmiths and the documentation for this cross.

four evangelist symbols, angels, and the *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God) which relate directly to the Latin liturgy and indicate the main function of this vessel as an altar cross. This reliquary was a gift to a noble pilgrim named Berthold by the patriarch of Jerusalem who in turn gave it to the Monastery of Denkendorf. Today it is found in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart.[7]

The True Cross was, of course, closely tied to Jerusalem, and these goldsmiths no doubt worked in the Holy City in close proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But there is early evidence of Crusader artists also working at Bethlehem as well, in the Church of the Nativity. In fact the earliest dated work of Crusader painting is found there, an icon painted on a column in encaustic (hot wax) technique in the south nave aisle in 1130 (fig. 9). In this case it is an image of the Virgin and Child *Glykophilousa* enthroned, a Byzantine type indicating the loving relationship between Mary and the infant Jesus. This image was commissioned by a pilgrim and his family, who are depicted kneeling in profile below the framed icon. The Crusader artist has imitated a Byzantine icon in iconography and style; note the imperial costume and setting of the Virgin, and her spiritualized elongated form. But there are aspects of medieval Italianate painting as well. The emotional content in the tenderness expressed by the mother for the baby seems to reflect western sentiment. This is the most important western feature, but also the strong linear clarity and the decorative surface design of the image reflects the Italian ancestry of this painter. The bringing together of these eastern and western features is a fundamental indication of the developing new Crusader artistic vision, and connected to that is an important site-specific iconography. Close inspection of the background of the enthroned Virgin, especially above her throne and haloed head, reveals the indication of a cave-like setting painted in shades of gray against the lighter blue ground above. This cave clearly is a reference to the sacred grotto of the Nativity, located underground below the crossing of this church. The kneeling patron-pilgrims are in effect worshipping this cult image of the Virgin and Child at Bethlehem, just as the three magi had done centuries before at the first Epiphany. It is the first devotional icon done by the Crusaders that evokes a specific pilgrimage site, something we shall find more frequently in the later thirteenth century.[8]



9. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, icon of the Virgin and Child *Glykophilousa* enthroned, from a south aisle column (1.94 m height of frame)
This shows the mother tenderly holding her son with his cheek next to hers. The two figures and the back of the throne are set against a stony gray cave entrance, just barely visible above the head of the Virgin, which evokes the cave grotto of the Nativity. Below the red frame to either side are three pilgrims kneeling in prayer.

To this point, as we have seen, most early Crusader Art was ecclesiastical, and we might ask what other art there was. In secular art interestingly, both Baldwin I and Baldwin II commissioned a royal coin type in the 1120s that indicates how the Crusaders were attempting to interact positively with their Near Eastern situation. Both Baldwins caused a golden bezant to be struck which directly imitated a gold dinar issued by the Fatimid Caliph al-Amir (1101–1130). Even though early Crusader coins are also known from Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli, virtually all are modest copper issues based on Byzantine or western models. The lack of small denomination coins struck in Jerusalem probably indicates that Western European coinage brought with the

first Crusaders was still serving that practical necessity in the Latin Kingdom (fig. 10). But the launch of an impressive gold coin modeled on an Islamic type indicates that the Crusaders wished to do business with their Arab neighbors and enter the Near Eastern commercial markets as active participants. By taking over an Islamic coin type complete with Arabic inscriptions unchanged, the King of Jerusalem was also in effect representing the new Crusader State in terms of Saracen numismatic design.[9]

The reign of Baldwin II was also notable for the emergence of two monastic orders which would play major roles in the history of the Crusader East, ecclesiastically, politically, militarily, and financially. First, Baldwin actively aided in the founding of the Order of the Templars. In 1119 he gave the first group of eight knights living space in the royal palace, which was the Aqsa Mosque, also called the *Templum Salomonis*. Augustinian canons newly installed in a convent just north of what the Crusaders called the *Templum Domini*, that is, the Dome of the Rock, also provided the Templars with a place to conduct their services. The Templars had as their primary function providing for the safety of Christian pilgrims. They represented a new knighthood in Christendom, one that combined a military function with a monastic way of life. The older order, known as the Hospitallers, had existed before the arrival of the Crusaders, but they were formally recognized by the pope in 1113. Their primary function initially was to run hospices for pilgrims, including a major hospital located directly opposite the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Hospitallers and the Templars would eventually become major patrons of the arts along with their other important activities, both military and financial.

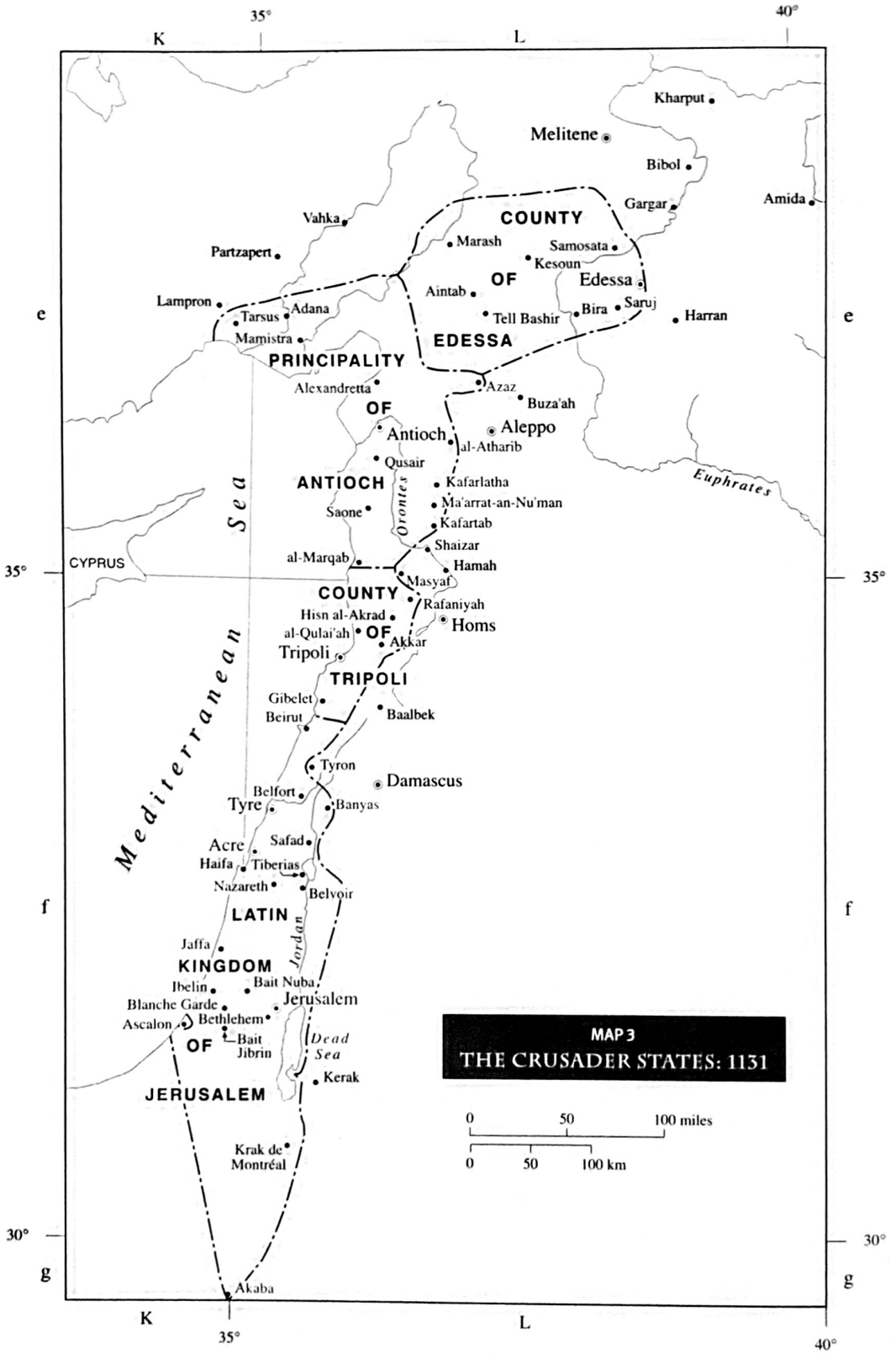
10. Deniers from Western Europe: (left) Valence, (right) Lucca
These "Valanzani" and "Luccenses," mentioned in a famous passage by the First Crusade historian Raymond d'Aguilers, are the most numerous coins found in hoards in the Near East from the twelfth century, indicating they were preferred currencies for commercial activity even in the Levant following the Crusaders' arrival and settlement after 1099.

When Queen Morphia, wife of Baldwin II, died in or just before 1129, she was buried in the Church of Our Lady in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the site of the (empty) Tomb of the Virgin. Even though this tomb does not survive today, her burial here suggests that this church, like many other churches at holy sites in the Latin Kingdom, had been rebuilt sometime after work on the Holy Sepulchre had been started. Another example must have been the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, where a small Crusader church was built shortly after the city was captured in 1100.

When Baldwin II died on August 21, 1131, the Latin Kingdom was effectively complete from Beirut south to Akaba, including Tyre with its great cathedral named for St. Mary, taken in 1124 (Map 3). Only Ascalon remained in Muslim hands. Before he died Baldwin had taken the remarkable step of identifying his successors as holding equal power to rule, so designating and presenting them to the leaders of the church and the aristocracy in a special ceremony. His immediate successors as king and queen were to be his new son-in-law Fulk, Count of Anjou and his daughter Melisende; his grandson Baldwin would become the future Baldwin III. Thus began the most stable period in the Latin Kingdom with the most remarkable Crusader royal and ecclesiastical artistic patronage seen in the entire twelfth century, much of it directly or indirectly linked to Fulk's impressive wife, the great Queen Melisende.

The Era of Queen Melisende, 1131–1161[10]

Melisende was a figure of major importance in the Latin Kingdom from 1131 to her death in 1161. The daughter of a Frankish father and an Armenian mother, she embodied the new multicultural outlook of the Crusaders resident in the Holy Land, and she personally reached out to support several of the local eastern Christian groups living in Jerusalem. She was not only the daughter of a king, Baldwin II, but also the wife of a king, Fulk I, and the mother of two kings, Baldwin III and Amalric.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PRINCIPALITY
Alexandretta
Azaz
Buza'ah
OF
Antioch
Aleppo
al-Atharib
Qusair
ANTIOCH
Orontes
Kafarlatha
Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man
Saone
Kafartab
Shaizar
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Homs
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Belfort
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Ascalon
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MAP 3
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1131
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Fulk and Melisende were crowned king and queen in Jerusalem at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14, 1131, only three weeks after the burial of Baldwin II. The early practice of crowning Crusader kings in Bethlehem on Christmas Day was thereby changed. This indicated that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was now fully identified as the state church of the Latin Kingdom. Clearly it would be necessary to give thought to what needed to be done to make the church large and grand enough to fulfill its several important functions.

Shortly after his coronation Fulk turned his attention to the constant problem of the defense of the realm, which he addressed vigorously in the 1130s and the early 1140s. Embarking on an ambitious program of castle building, he initiated work at a number of important sites to meet specific threats from the Muslims.[11] Bait Jibrin in the south was intended to protect Jerusalem from the Fatimids at Ascalon, which the Crusaders had still not taken. Banyas, north of Lake Galilee, and Belvoir (fig. 11), overlooking the Jordan

11. Belvoir (Kaukab al Hawa): view into the central court
Known in Arabic as Kaukab al Hawa (=star of the winds), Belvoir enjoys a commanding strategic position high above the Jordan valley overlooking one of the main fords across the Jordan river at the south end of Lake Galilee. The first Crusader castle on the site, built in the 1130s, was rebuilt in the early 1170s as a formidable *castrum*-style fortification. This photo shows the Crusader use of the local dark volcanic masonry and the broad-pointed arches so widespread in the Levant.

River on the south side, the latter in private hands, were both meant to protect the Latin Kingdom from Muslim incursions from the east. Belfort, overlooking the Litani valley south of Beirut, was another bulwark against invasion from the east. Belfort and Banyas were both less than fifty miles from Damascus. Fulk's inititative was also followed by those of other nobles; Payen le Bouteiller built a major castle south of Jerusalem and east of the Dead Sea, at Kerak in what is now Jordan. The constant threat from Ascalon led to the construction of two additional castles in the south to protect Jerusalem, at Ibelin and at Blanche Garde in the early 1140s, both *castrum*-type castles apparently like Gibelet, one of the earliest of Crusader castles, on the coast north of Beirut (fig. 12). These fortresses were all rectangular with foursquare corner towers, but unlike Gibelet, Blanche Garde had no fortified keep inside the walls. The problem of manning these castles with adequate garrisons was solved at Bait Jibrin with an innovative solution; the king gave the castle to the Hospitallers. Here began the militarization of the Hospitallers along the same lines as the Templars. More and more, the Crusader States would depend on these two orders to serve as, in effect, standing armies for defense against the Muslims.

12. Gibelet: Crusader castle, general view
The castle on this site, known in Arabic as Jubail in Lebanon, and in antiquity as Byblos, is an early Crusader fortification done in a basic western-style configuration. It has a rectangular central tower keep. But Levantine elements are visible as well; the keep is built of stone and is vaulted inside. It is surrounded by an outer defense wall with rectangular towers at the corners in the manner of Byzantine *castrum*-type castles.

It did not take Melisende long, following her coronation in 1131, to make her influence felt at the royal court. When Fulk attempted to take the absolute and solitary reins of power in hand (from Melisende and Baldwin) despite the arrangement made before Baldwin II died, he incurred the dangerous wrath of his Queen, which Fulk was compelled to deal with. The famous Crusader historian of the Latin Kingdom, William, Archbishop of Tyre, reported that:

> At length, through the mediation of certain intimate friends, [Melisende's] wrath was appeased, and the king finally after persistent efforts, succeeded in gaining a pardon … . But from that day forward, the king became so uxorious that, whereas he had formerly aroused her wrath, he now calmed it, and not even in unimportant cases did he take any measures without her knowledge and assistance.[12]

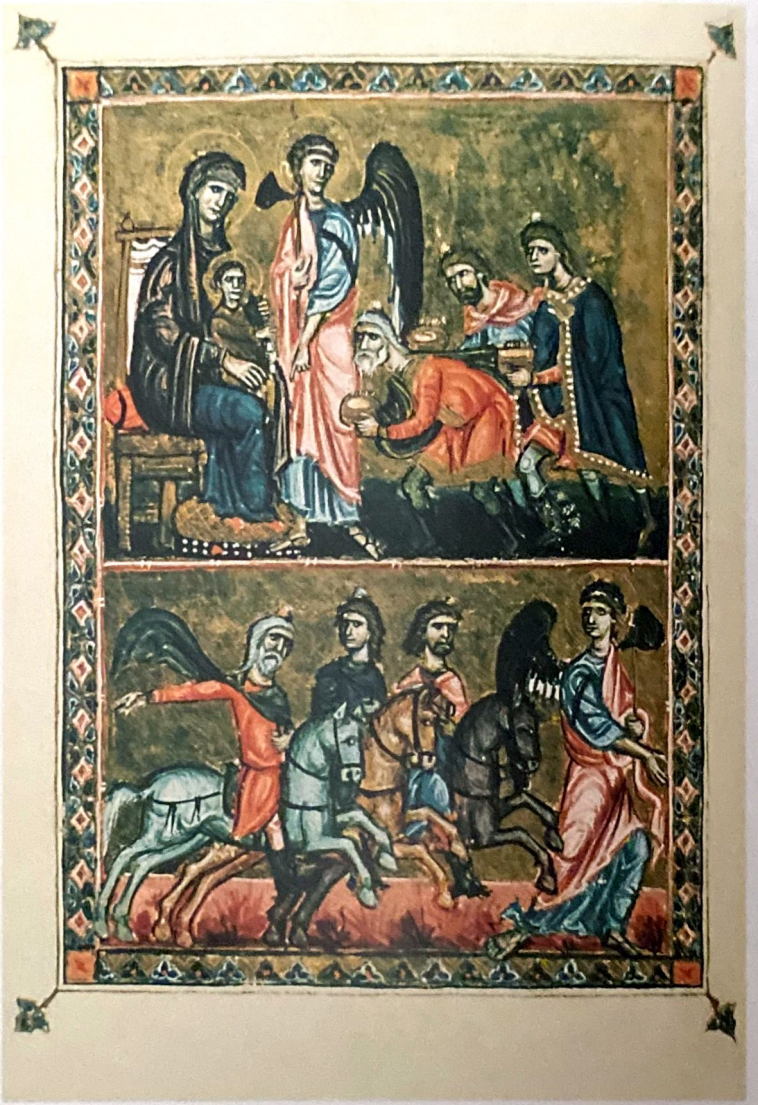
By 1134 Fulk and Melisende were reconciled, and it is likely that an important work of art was involved in the process by which Melisende's trust in her husband was reestablished. There is in the British Library a prayerbook, now designated as Egerton MS 1139, consisting of a Psalter with a calendar and a selection of prayers to specific saints.[13] The calendar entries make clear the book was made between 1131 and 1143 in Jerusalem. There is an entry for July 15 commemorating the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade in 1099; an entry on October 1 commemorates the death of Queen Morphia, Melisende's mother (before 1129); another entry on August 21 is a commemoration of the death of King Baldwin II, Melisende's father (November 1131). There is no entry for Fulk, however, who died in 1143. The fact that the prayers were written for a lay woman of high rank eliminates the possibility that this book was done for her youngest sister, Yvette, who was a nun at the convent of St Anne. It is therefore very likely that this book was prepared specifically for Queen Melisende, and

13. Psalter of Queen Melisende (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1139), initial "B" at the start of the Psalter, fol. 23v, "Beatus vir ..." (13.5 x 8.5 cm)
This monumental historiated initial, articulated in black on a lustrous gold background, is rich in ornament. It contains both western vine-scroll and interlace ornament, and eastern *çintamani* – the triangular three-dot design on the background. Even King David, playing his psaltery, combines a western costume with a crown that contains byzantinizing design.

that Fulk commissioned it in 1134/1135 as part of his efforts to win back the favor and trust of his Queen.

Money was no object with this book, which was given the most lavish decoration, and Fulk apparently employed at least six artists and a very accomplished northern French scribe to produce the desired results in a timely manner. Furthermore the program of decoration for this book was attuned to the multicultural interests of the Queen and her Orthodox eastern ancestry. The calendar on fols 13v–19r is decorated with handsome roundels containing images of the zodiac signs painted by a French Romanesque Crusader painter. The book of Psalms that follows has magnificent full-page frontispieces with headpiece initials at the beginning of each of the standard eight divisions of the psalms widely found in French and English psalters (fig. 13). These frontispieces are created with black inlay on a luminous gold ground joined with the text *incipits* – the first words of each passage – "written" in gold on purple lines or strips for a very sumptuous and exotic effect. The headpieces are done by an Italo-Byzantine Crusader painter of great skill and quality, a person of possibly Sicilian origin, whose ornament also reflects Anglo-Saxon decorated initials combined remarkably with Islamic geometric sophistication.

The principal figural decoration of the book is found in two sets of miniatures. The first is an ensemble of 24 full-page introductory scenes of the life of Christ, prefatory to the Psalter. The second is a group of nine rectangular headpieces with images of selected saints introducing prayers. The images of the first set are very strongly Byzantinizing in style, done by an accomplished Crusader artist named Basil, who may well have studied in a Greek workshop (fig. 14). Nonetheless, the idea of such introductory miniatures to give a Christian setting to the Old Testament Psalter is entirely western, having been introduced in England only very shortly before this book was made. We also find certain western-inspired iconography and even Crusader site-specific references in these miniatures, which exemplify the multicultural milieu that engaged the vigorous interests of Melisende. The images of the second set are also Byzantinizing, but the artist is what might be called a Byzantino-Romanesque painter. Unlike Basil, who is deeply influenced by his study of Byzantine painting, this



14. (right) **Psalter of Queen Melisende (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1139), "Adoration of the Magi," fol. 2v, full-page miniature (14.0 x 10.0 cm)**
This image shows the work of the Crusader painter, Basil, who is thoroughly steeped in the Byzantine tradition in figure style and iconography. But here he includes a two-part narrative format for the story of the three Magi in the western manner, and a guiding angel plays an unusually prominent role in leading them. Basil is one of four painters who worked on this manuscript, but the only one whose name we know.

15. (below) **Psalter of Queen Melisende, Saint Agnes, fol. 211r, headpiece (7.2 x 6.8 cm)**
The Crusader artist faithfully renders her carefully in the typical Byzantine manner of women saints, but she stands in the orans position without the golden cross held by Mary Magdalene elsewhere in this book. The style of the figure, however, reveals the strong Romanesque western training of the artist who is imitating Byzantine figure style and drapery in abstract, almost geometric design. Look at the "light bulb"-type head on a tiny neck. The striking ornament and appealing color also reveal the strength of the artist's western training in this new Near Eastern context.

painter is keen on imitating Byzantine iconic types in his own very pronounced abstract, decorative, colorful, and it must be said, very charming Romanesque style (fig. 15).

To this array of painters, we also see joined one or two ivory carvers who produce the bookcovers with a textile-inspired, Byzantino-Muslim type framed medallion format for two programs of figural work very clearly related to this book in its Crusader context[14] (figs. 16 and 17). On the front cover we find the life of King David, ancestor of Christ and the Crusader kings, surrounded by a western-inspired set of virtues and vices battling for supremacy. On the back, we find images of the corporal works of mercy being carried out by royal figures who no doubt emulate Crusader kings

16. (left) **Psalter of Queen Melisende, ivory cover, back: the corporal works of mercy (22.0 x 14.5 cm)**
The ivory covers must have originally been gilded and polychromed, but now the only touches of color left reside in the modern turquoise inlaid along the borders and in the cable designs and the paint in the little inscriptions. The kings, represented as carrying out the corporal works of mercy (Matthew 25: 35–36), wear a variety of mostly Byzantine-inspired regalia, in the manner of the Crusader kings.

17. (above) **Psalter of Queen Melisende, ivory cover, front: (detail) David and Goliath**
The front cover has the same cable and medallion design as the back, with a similar vine-scroll border. However, the program on the front is focused on the life of David, the ancestor of Christ, and the ancestor of the Crusader kings who appear on the back cover. In this detail we find the famous battle of David and Goliath, combat echoed in the surrounding scenes of the interstices which feature the Virtues dressed as soldiers overcoming their adversaries, the Vices, the Medieval *psychomachia*.

in their varied and interesting costumes. The covers in their original presentation must have been magnificent with gilded and painted figures and ornament, inscriptions with red or black paint, and semi-precious stones adding color and light to a sumptuously conceived program. Finally the two covers were joined by a handsomely embroidered silk, with tiny red, green, and blue equal-armed crosses linking the lozenges and cross designs along the vertical axis of the binding.[15] Symbolically the spine refers to the cross of Christ between the life of David on the front cover and the coming of the Crusaders in the Holy Land on the back.

The Melisende Psalter is certainly the most important illuminated codex produced in the scriptorium of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. But it is important to realize that it is not the only extant early work we have; there are two other illustrated service books closely related in style, a sacramentary and a missal, which also came from this workshop at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Indeed it is evident that the Melisende Psalter, a work of such high quality with such a sophisticated program, obviously could not possibly have been the first work done in this atelier. Furthermore, the fact that we have seen a variety of six first-quality artists in a variety of media – metalwork, icon painting, miniatures, ivory carving, silk embroidery – working on this project clearly indicates how much Crusader Art must have been lost before the 1130s, and what a thriving artistic establishment there must have been at this time. Indeed all through the 1130s and in the early 1140s we find additional column paintings at Bethlehem, more reliquaries of the True Cross produced in Jerusalem, as well as new coinage in the Crusader States, including a gold bezant in Tripoli modeled on the Fatimid dinar of a different caliph, Al-Mustansir (1036–1094).

Although the Melisende Psalter was probably commissioned as a gift for the great Queen, Melisende herself also was active as patron in Jerusalem in the 1130s and 1140s. She energetically patronized the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany and the handsome Church of St. Anne (fig. 18), and it appears that she was involved with the decorations at the Dome of the Rock, which was formally consecrated as a Christian church by a visiting papal legate in 1141. She probably was involved in sponsoring the new mosaic decorations inside, as well as a magnificent wrought iron grille which surrounded the sacred rock sheltered by this beautiful building. There can be no doubt that her role as queen and patron changed notably, however, when Fulk suffered a fatal accident riding horseback outside of Acre in November 1143. In the wake of Fulk's death, she became more powerful and more important as queen *regnant*, while her son Baldwin was still a minor. No doubt she saw to Fulk's state funeral and burial with a traditional tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. No doubt she helped plan the coronation of herself and her son, Baldwin III, in the same church on Christmas Day, 1143.

William of Tyre wrote a splendid encomium to Melisende, including the following:

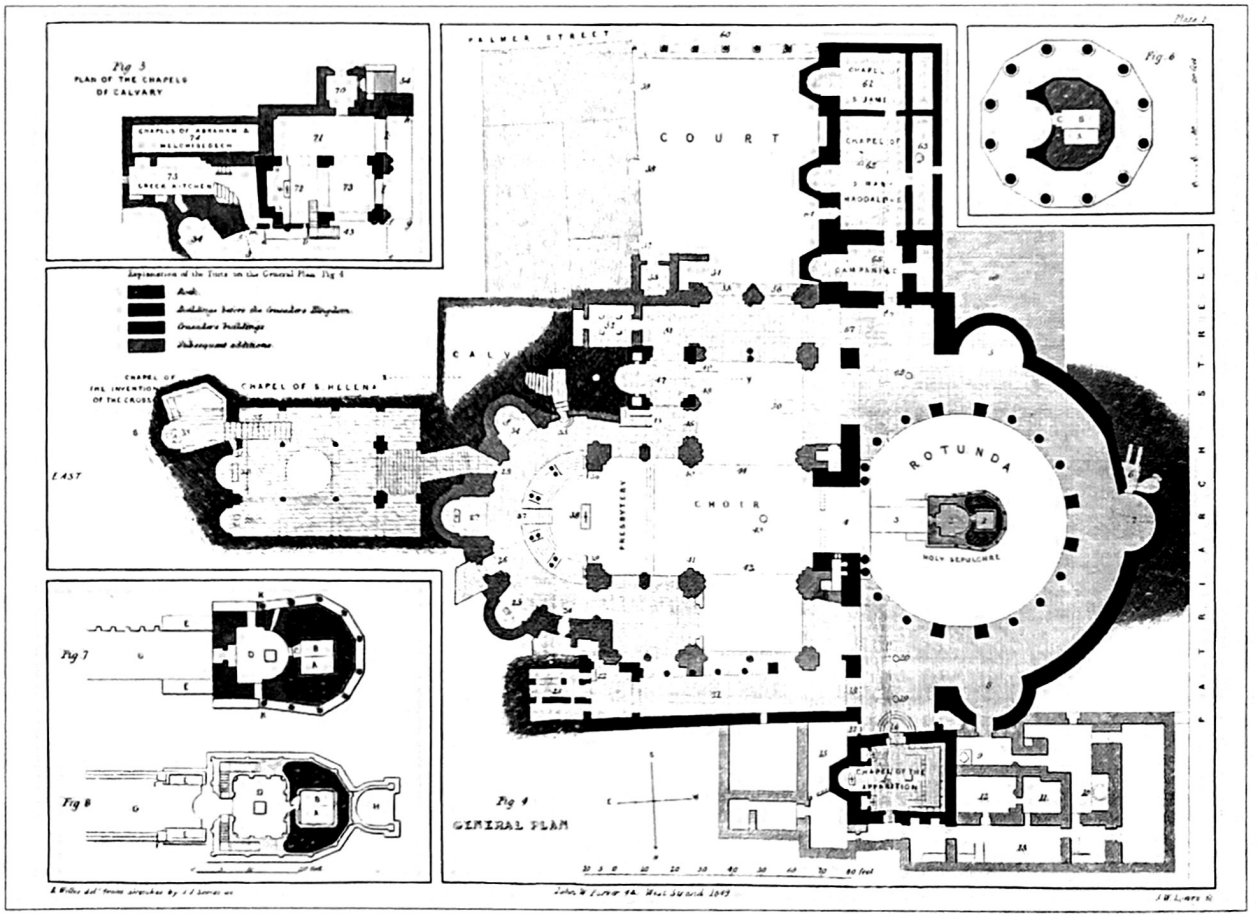
> Melisende, the king's mother, was a woman of great wisdom who had much experience in all kinds of secular matters. She had risen so far above the normal status of women that she dared to undertake important measures. It was her ambition to emulate the magnificence of the greatest and noblest princes and to show herself no wise inferior to them. Since her son was as yet under age, she ruled the kingdom and administered the government with such skilful care that she may be said truly to have equaled her ancestors in that respect. As long as her son was willing to be governed by her counsel, the people enjoyed a highly desirable state of tranquility, and the affairs of the realm moved on prosperously. ...[16]

It is indeed remarkable that while Melisende ruled, the Kingdom of Jerusalem weathered several serious threats to its stability. In 1144 Edessa fell to the Turks, with the ultimate loss of the County of Edessa by 1146. In 1147 Baldwin III

18. (opposite) Jerusalem, Church of St. Anne: general view
This church contained a Crusader holy place, the birthplace of the Virgin, on the site of the House of Joachim and Anna. The church itself is a lovely four-bay Romanesque vaulted building with a low Byzantine-inspired dome marking the crossing in front of the main altar. Its excellent condition in modern times results from the fact that the church, which had been converted into a madressa by Saladin at the time of the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187, was formally given to the French Government by the Ottoman sultan in the nineteenth century. The French saw to its substantial renovation and restoration. This view is taken from the excavations in front of the church.

led a campaign into the Hauran, south of Damascus, with neither a positive outcome nor a catastrophic result. In the West Pope Eugenius III called for a Second Crusade, and the preaching of St. Bernard of Clairvaux helped to generate an enthusiastic response. Some of the most prominent European rulers took the cross, including King Louis VII and his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, along with Frederick Barbarossa of Germany. But in 1148, the Second Crusade made an ill-advised decision and attempted to attack Damascus, suffering a major defeat with great loss of life. Meanwhile, in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, it is just during these same tumultuous years, 1143–1149, that the most outstanding artistic project of the 1140s was under-

19. Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: the 1849 plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Robert Willis (18.0 x 25.0 cm)
This plan provides an excellent indication of the essential new design the Crusaders introduced as an addition and expansion onto the great rotunda, the latter having been the basis of the rebuilt Byzantine church dating from the 1040s. The plan shows the Crusader masonry defining the longitudinal nave space, listed by Willis as the "choir," extending eastward to the sanctuary with the high altar, which he called the "presbytery." The nave, congruent with the crossing under the second dome, extended north and south with two transepts. Surrounding the east end is the ambulatory with the radiating chapels, and on the south side, the Calvary chapel, whereas on the north side, in the extreme northeast corner was found the "Prison of Christ." Willis's plan also includes details of three configurations of the aedicule of the Tomb; his is the first modern attempt to understand the evolution of the configuration of the aedicule, from Constantinian to Medieval to post-1808 times.



taken in Jerusalem, namely the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[17] Curiously, William of Tyre, who wrote so glowingly of Melisende has almost nothing to say about this important project, nor what role she played in it.

By 1143 it had become clear that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre required a major reconfiguration and expansion to serve its many roles in the Latin Kingdom. It was at once a great pilgrimage church sheltering the hill of Calvary and the Tomb of Christ, the cathedral church of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the state church of the Crusader kingdom, where its kings were crowned and buried. The program for rebuilding had to accommodate and facilitate all of these functions. No doubt the preliminary planning may have started after the coronation in 1131, but the work apparently only began after that of 1143.

The vision of the new church was impressive. Not only did the commemoration chapels, the Prison of Christ and the Calvary Chapel of the *Triporticus*, require reorganization in order to achieve unification within a newly conceived architectural configuration, but also the Aedicule and its sheltering rotunda was joined to a new and monumental nave, choir and apse. The form this new eastern component took was a two-storey crossing covered with a dome somewhat smaller than that of the rotunda, and flanked by two aisle-transepts, all of which was joined to a Romanesque-style pilgrimage road eastern end with a choir, ambulatory, and radiating chapels. This new, much more spacious church with the basic Crusader masonry involved is clearly illustrated in the early plan published by Robert Willis in 1849[18] (fig. 19). The two-storey choir was covered by a ribbed Gothic four-part vault, the first of its kind in the Crusader east (fig. 20). The result was a magnificent new building with the Aedicule, Prison of Christ, and Calvary Chapel all in effect under one roof joined to the main church. The new church was announced by two domes, a bell tower, and a splendid main entrance into the south transept aisle adjacent to where the tombs of the kings were located (fig. 21).

A major decorative program was carried out on both the interior and the exterior of this most impressive of Christian tomb churches. The great Byzantine mosaic of the Anastasis, formerly in the Byzantine apse of the rotunda, was moved farther east to the apse of the new Crusader

20. Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: view of the crossing dome and choir
In this view the new Crusader dome appears in front of the choir to the left. It was placed over the crossing/nave and gives it a striking vertical emphasis. The choir just to the east was one of the most progressive parts of the newly rebuilt Crusader church with its graceful pointed arches, and its four-part rib-vaulted bay. Although the design of the arches was inspired by local Arab architecture, seen, e.g., in Ramla, the pointed-arch rib vaulting was apparently the very first example of Gothic-inspired design in a major Crusader building that survives today.

21. (above) **Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: view of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the southeast**
This Crusader church, dedicated in 1149, is unique in Jerusalem as the only major religious building with two domes. The church seen today is largely based on the Crusader design, but the eastern end was rebuilt after the fire of 1808, and the domes have been renovated. The squat-looking campanile is now severely truncated, having lost its upper stories. This view is taken from the top of the bell tower of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer nearby.

22. (opposite) **Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Chapel of Calvary: mosaic of Christ of the Ascension**
This is the only substantial fragment of the extensive Crusader program of mosaic decoration executed in the interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to go with the Byzantine mosaics in the rotunda and the main eastern apse. This Christ is handsomely done in a Byzantino-Crusader style inspired by high-quality Komnenian style. It is distinctive with its regal deep blue draperies, the purple and silver mandorla, and the elegant chrysography which functions as golden highlighting over the figure. In quality it is comparable to the mosaics carried out somewhat later in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

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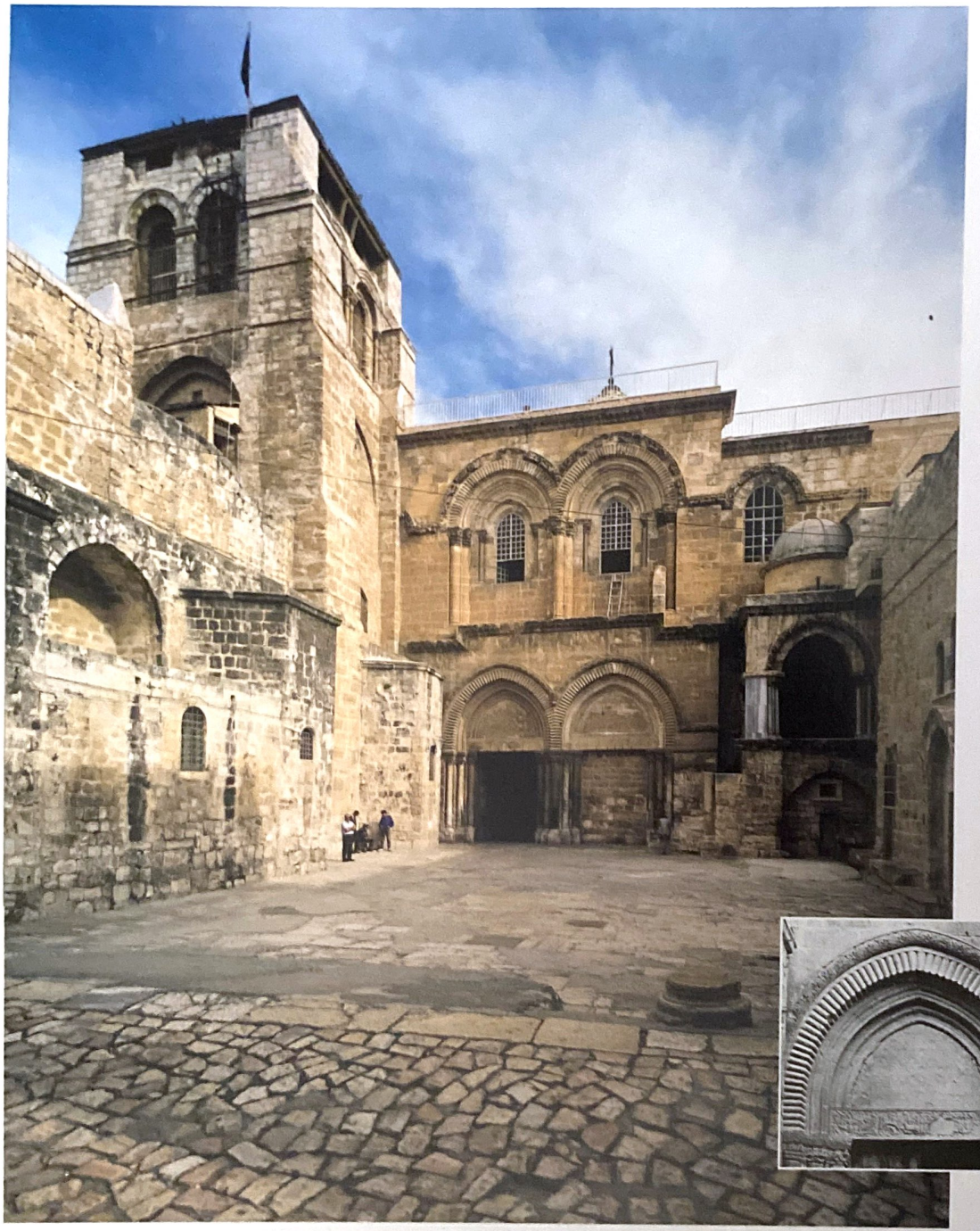
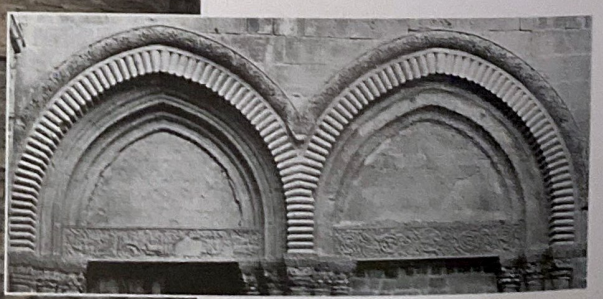




23. (left) **Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: view of the south transept façade**
This façade was given impressive decoration meant to announce its function as the main entrance to this holy site. There were mosaics in the tympana and interstices on the first level and figural lintels with imagery pertaining to the holy places. But the non-figural sculpture is also unusually rich, with a program that proclaimed an ecumenical message to all Christian pilgrims about the history of the church, and the many contributors to its building and maintenance.

24. (below) **Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: view of the lintels over the two main portals**
These figural lintels put up by the Crusaders survived *in situ* mostly intact from 1187 to 1917 as part of the special veneration accorded this holy building by Christians and Muslims alike. They were, however, removed in the 1920s for conservation treatments and eventually placed on display in the Rockefeller Museum, where they can be seen today. This early photo shows the two lintels still in place. The lintel to the left includes scenes of Christ's life immediately before his death and resurrection, notably his raising of Lazarus at the left, and the Last Supper at the right. The vine-scroll lintel to the right contains human and mythological beings in foliate imagery that seems to refer to the *Arbor Vitae*, the tree of life.

25. Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre: view of the architectural sculpture above the left side of the main portal of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (detail)
Here we can see examples of four different styles which help to embellish the south transept façade so richly. The capitals are done in the windswept acanthus leaf style of Byzantine origin. The horizontal moulding just above the capitals is Romanesque in inspiration, while above that the starry swirl, lace-like design of the hood moulding comes from Early Christian Syrian sources. Inside it one sees the cushion-like godroons forming the voussoirs, a form popular in contemporary Arab architecture in the Near East, both Christian and Muslim.

building. Today the lone surviving fragment of the major Crusader program of mosaics in the interior can be seen as the fragmentary Christ of the Ascension in what is today the Franciscan Calvary Chapel (fig. 22). Figural and non-figural capitals were introduced in the crossing, nave, aisles, and ambulatory with imagery as wide-ranging as Adam and Eve, Daniel in the Lion's Den, and King Solomon enthroned.

On the exterior the decoration was focused on the south transept façade, on the embellishment of the Franks Chapel to the right of the main entrance, and on the carved corbels of the new rotunda drum. Of these, the south transept façade was the most spectacular achievement with the richest program, architecturally and in terms of decoration (fig. 23). The double portal on this façade, which might seem reminiscent of the earlier pilgrimage church at Santiago de Compostella in the West, was in fact directly related to an important local landmark, the Golden Gate in the eastern wall of the city of Jerusalem. Above these portals there were mosaics – now lost – on the south transept façade, in the tympana and their interstices. Pilgrims report that there were scenes like those of the Crucifixion and the *Noli me tangere* after the Resurrection, comparable as media to similar mosaic programs on church exteriors at St. Denis and in Tuscany. Figural lintels, now moved to the Rockefeller Museum for safekeeping, also presented a program with Italianate parallels[19] (fig. 24). The left-hand lintel depicts a series of scenes of the life of Christ including events from the Raising of Lazarus to the Last Supper. These episodes are all linked to specific holy sites at Jerusalem, events which preceeded those which occurred at sites inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Over the right door the inhabited vine-scroll imagery evoked the idea of the *arbor vitae*, the Cross of Christ as the Tree of Life, below a tympanum where the Crucifixion may have been located. This pairing on the façade led into where the Chapel of the Crucifixion was visited by pilgrims.

The non-figural sculpture on this façade was no less programmatic (fig. 25). By combining architectural sculpture consisting of Roman *spolia* – reused carvings – and its copies for the cornices, Early Christian-style mouldings modeled on Syrian tomb decoration over the two lower doors, Romanesque-style mouldings on the second storey, Byzantine-style acanthus capitals with their leaves blown in the wind, and pillow-like voussoirs called godroons taken from Muslim Arab arches, the façade carried a remarkable message to everyone who approached the entry to this church. Not only was this church announced in terms of its special architectural history, originally founded by the Roman emperor, Constantine, and the imagery of pilgrimage sites which made it unique, but also the variety of artistic traditions in the decorative sculpture expressed the multicultural richness of Christendom world-wide which every Christian pilgrim could relate to. It was a magnificent ecumenical statement of East and West unified in this unique Crusader sculptural ensemble.[20] The church we see today is essentially this same Crusader building in much of its fabric, but a serious fire in 1808, among other devastations, and recent restorations have obliterated much of the Crusader decorative programs; we can only see the evidence for them now as a pale reflection of their former glory.

The new Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre was dedicated on July 15, 1149, 50 years after the taking of Jerusalem by the First Crusade. No doubt most of the major construction and decorative programs were completed by this time, but everything may not have been done until the early 1150s. Ironically, most members of the ill-fated Second Crusade paid little attention to this project and did not attend the dedication. In fact most had already left to return home to Western Europe before it was held. As a statement of the diversity of Crusader artistic and architectural ideals, this newly renovated and greatly expanded church is unsurpassed. Architecturally it combines Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic and Crusader elements in a new and successfully unified Crusader church. Artistically it combines a wide range of Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque and Arab decorative motifs along with Franco-Italian Crusader imagery to produce a uniquely ecumenical statement for Christian pilgrims of all nations. To achieve this remarkable result, the mix of nationalities represented among the architects and masons, and the mosaicists and sculptors working in the Crusader mason's yard must have been impressive. As the first of the major dominical pilgrimage churches to receive substantial

attention, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre set a remarkable precedent for projects yet to come at Bethlehem and at Nazareth.

During and following her participation to renovate and expand the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Melisende seems to have been similarly engaged with various smaller projects between 1143 and 1153. She was involved with construction of the Church of St. Samuel *c.* 1150 for the Premonstratensians at the place where pilgrims got their first glimpse of Jerusalem coming up the old Roman road from the coast. Bernard of Clairvaux had written to Melisende to encourage her after the death of her husband, Fulk, and he called her attention to the needs of this order. Shortly before that, Melisende demonstrated her concern for eastern Christians in Jerusalem by her support for the construction of the Armenian cathedral church of St. James. This church, which appears to have been built in the 1140s, seems to have utilized masons drawn from the yard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Melisende must have been instrumental in arranging the training and/or the loan of these men for the St. James project. Although the church is clearly Armenian in most important aspects, the pointed arch entrance to the south porch has notable godrooned voussoirs which clearly evoke the south transept portals at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[21] Other important projects from the 1140s, such as the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives or the Baptistry of the *Templum Domini*, now known as the *Qubbat al Mi'raj* (fig. 26), are notable for their wonderfully rich and varied program of carved capitals.[22] Even though neither building is known to be linked directly to Melisende's patronage, they clearly seem to have been stimulated by the activity in the mason's yard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These buildings and others, such as the work on the great hospital of the Hospitaller Order opposite the Holy Sepulchre, and the Church of St. Mary Latin nearby, reflect the outpouring of artistic activity which flourished during the 1140s while Melisende reigned.

This period of outstanding artistic productivity was curtailed when the Latin Kingdom descended into what amounted to a civil war in 1152. Baldwin III, long since having reached his majority in 1145, chafed at being under

26. Jerusalem: Haram al Sharif, Qubbat al-Mi'raj
Despite a long Arabic inscription over its entrance, which claims it was built by the Muslims in 1200–1201, this elegant little eight-sided building was apparently built as the baptistry of the *Templum Domini*, when the Haram was under Crusader control in the 1140s. Its beautiful pointed-arch lantern provides a climax to the remarkable program of sculptured Romanesque-style capitals, the most carved capitals extant on any Crusader building in Jerusalem.

27. Jerusalem: Tomb of the Virgin, main entrance
This was the traditional burial site of the Crusader queens. When Queen Melisende died in 1161, she apparently also chose this holy place for her tomb in keeping with this tradition. Located just inside this entrance one flight of stairs down and to the right side, her tomb was impressive, but much less grand than the now mostly destroyed and, of course, empty tomb of the Virgin. The entrance, although rebuilt in modern times, reflects the same graceful Levantine pointed arches also found on the portals of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

the control of his powerful mother. Melisende's unwillingness to step aside finally compelled Baldwin to take power by force of arms. The result of this face-off was that Baldwin finally assumed his kingly powers and Melisende was made to step down. She in fact left Jerusalem at this point and took up residence in Nablus. The only subsequent project connected with her name was the handsome tomb built inside the entrance to the Tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which was completed before she died in 1161 (fig. 27). Her son, Baldwin III, was an effective king, but his artistic interests were very different and rather limited as compared to those of his mother.

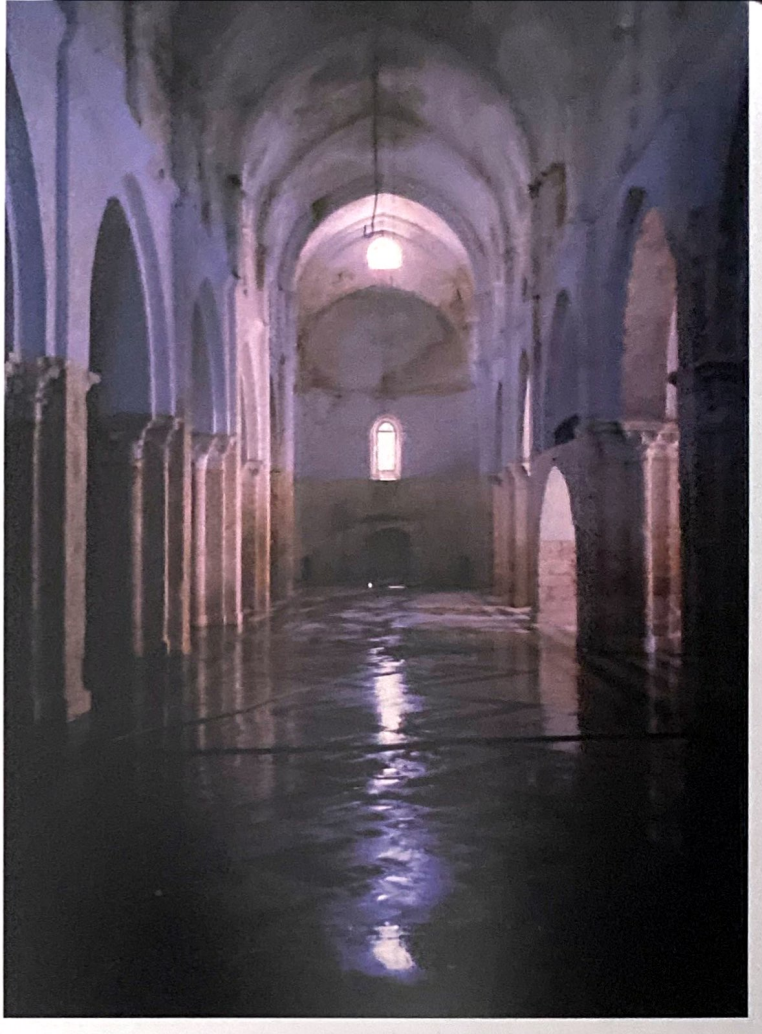
28. Denier of King Baldwin III with the Tower of David
This denier inscribed "Balduinus Rex" was most likely struck during the reign of King Baldwin III. It carries on the reverse the motif of the Tower of David, imagery with royal significance as marking the residence of the Crusader kings after they left the *Templum Salomonis* on the Haram in the early twelfth century. It was here also that Baldwin III forced Melisende to yield power in 1152 when he claimed his right to rule.

One signal contribution Baldwin III introduced was a new royal coin, a denier with the motif of the Tower of David on the reverse (fig. 28). This is the first regular royal Jerusalem denier issued in major quantities that carried the king's name. It also introduces new imagery, that of an architectural motif which becomes a notable feature of much Crusader coinage. The Tower of David imagery was deeply symbolic: not only was Melisende instrumental in establishing the citadel with the Tower of David as the new royal residence *c.* 1131, leaving the *Templum Salomonis* to be used as the Templar headquarters, but also it was at the citadel with the Tower of David that Baldwin forcefully won his takeover of power in the kingdom, sending Melisende away in 1152.

The greatest continuing problem confronting the Crusaders in the Holy Land during the twelfth century was, of course, military security. In 1152 they were still a small minority population in an alien land seeking to maintain their holdings. But one year later, Baldwin III achieved his greatest military victory, the conquest of Ascalon. Ascalon, which the Fatimids had held doggedly through the first half of the twelfth century, was finally in Crusader hands, to Baldwin's great credit. Even so, having finally eliminated this threat in the south, Baldwin III was forced to look eastward to confront a new Muslim challenge from Nureddin, conquerer of Damascus in 1154. Nureddin was dedicated to a *jihad* against the Crusader States, and as a symbol of his campaign he had commissioned a pulpit which he intended to install in the al-Aqsa Mosque when he conquered Jerusalem. In addition, to the north Antioch was having its problems with the Byzantine emperor and with the adventuresome and problematic Count Raynauld de Chatillon. The outcome of these developments was that Baldwin III seems to have had little time for artistic patronage, but his Antiochene involvements won him a Byzantine princess as a bride. He married Theodora, niece of Emperor Manuel, in 1158, setting the stage for what would be a significant Crusader–Byzantine alliance against the Muslims that carried on into the 1160s.

While Baldwin was otherwise engaged to the east and north, the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli continued to flourish in mainly peaceful circumstances, and a number of important buildings were under construction thanks to Templar and Hospitaller support. When the Templars returned to Tortosa (Arabic = Tartus) after Nureddin was defeated there in 1152, the main church became the focus of new construction (fig. 29). This church was important not only as the bishop's cathedral, but also because it was an important pilgrimage church.[23] A shrine existed inside the Tortosa church which was said to be the earliest chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary by the apostles. Other Crusader churches claimed similar early dedications to the Virgin Mary, including St. Mary on Mount Sion in Jerusalem, and the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. In design and execution the cathedral at Tortosa is an outstanding example of these large mid-century Crusader churches, with a predominantly Romanesque style, and in this case, important Gothic architectural features added later. It also has a very strongly Levantine look seen in its heavy walls, small windows, flat roof and compact dome over the

29. (above) **Tortosa (Tartus): Crusader Cathedral of Notre Dame, south flank**
The cathedral was begun as, in effect, a fortified Romanesque church. Though larger than St. Anne's in Jerusalem, but without a dome, the heavy walls, tiny lancet clerestory windows – albeit containing pointed arches – and powerful wall buttresses, all supporting a long flat roof here indicate the strength and permanence expressed in this style of Crusader architecture.



30. (top right) **Ramla: Great Mosque, formerly the Crusader Church of St. John**
With seven bays, this church is one of the largest extant Crusader basilicas to survive from the twelfth century. Its graceful and broad-pointed arches reflect the style of the nearby Arab cistern built in 789. Some of the carved capitals are the Byzantine basket-type in secondary use from the first church on the site. Most of the capitals are Crusader, however, carved with a touch of naturalism in the leafy ornament that has suggested to some scholars they are early Gothic. Built in the 1150s, this Crusader church was converted to a mosque by the Mamluks, and it remains a mosque in service today.

31. (right) **Ramla: Cistern, Bir al-Aneziyya, AD 789, interior view**
Called the cistern of St. Helena by the Crusaders, this is an impressive example of the early use of pointed arches by the Arabs. This distinctive broad graceful design, which also appears in Cairo early on, was later adopted by the Crusaders for various important churches, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

crossing at its eastern end. This church at Tortosa, where significant renovations were begun in the 1150s, increased in importance and prestige partly because of Templar protection of the city, and partly because its coastal location made it easy to reach by pilgrims to the Holy Land. Its reputation grew and was especially strong later, in the thirteenth century when the church was rebuilt and completed by the 1220s after a serious earthquake in 1202.

For their part in the reign of Baldwin III, the Hospitallers were not necessarily the sponsors of much construction beyond the castles they had begun to take responsibility for. But their influence was spreading as they became more active and more powerful in the Latin Kingdom. A reflection of this can be seen in the fact that no fewer than three important churches dedicated to St. John, patron saint of the Order, were built in the 1150s. The impressive Church of St. John at Ramla survives now as a mosque (fig. 30). Its spaciously wide pointed arches might suggest Gothic links, but in fact an important Muslim structure, the "Cistern of St. Helena," known as the Bir al-Aneziyya, dating from the late eighth century and also located here in Ramla must have been the source of inspiration and design for these graceful pointed arches (fig. 31). The Church of St. John in Gaza – a town captured from the Muslims in 1149 only a few years before Ascalon was taken – is equally impressive, with pointed arch portals and vaults. But the cathedral Church of St. John at Sebastiye, just north of Nablus, is especially interesting. For one thing, it contains the tomb of St John the Baptist; his severed head meanwhile was buried in a smaller Byzantine-style centralized church nearby. The Church of St. John is also especially notable because is it a cathedral on the one hand, and on the other a pilgrimage shrine for both Christians and Muslims alike. Moreover it received a program of historiated capitals on its façade, the first Crusader church to be given such decoration. And the design and construction of its architecture has been shown to have direct ties to the new Gothic cathedral of Sens in France, one of the few cases where a Crusader building has a direct link to a western model.[24]

Although Baldwin III is not particularly known as a patron of the arts, his belief in the efficacy of the Relic of the True Cross, which he carried on all his military campaigns, is constantly evident. And his devotion was paralleled by a lively production of reliquaries on the part of Jerusalem goldsmiths, including reliquaries of the True Cross for export, and a complex reliquary of the True Cross, St. John the Baptist and the Twelve Apostles all contained in a large miter-shaped rock crystal adorned with gold and gemstones, now located in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in the city.[25] Nonetheless, when he died on February 10, 1163, two years after his mother, their respective tombs made clear who had had the greater impact on the Kingdom. Baldwin's tomb in 1163 was similar to those of his predecessors – the fifth of the series – distinguished only by the use of "Parian marble" and its location as the first royal tomb situated next to the crossing of the church. Melisende's tomb in 1161 was by contrast quite magnificent. Not only did it have its own separate and spacious private tomb chamber, it was also given a domed lantern and placed as an arcosolium on the eastern wall of the burial chamber. An arcosolium was an arched niche above the sarcophagus with a horizontal slab to serve as an altar, a configuration used since Early Christian times. Pilgrims to the Valley of Jehoshaphat could stop and pray at her burial site before descending the long flight of stairs to the empty Tomb of Mary below. Just as the Crusader kings linked their burials to the empty tomb of Christ, Melisende linked hers to that of the Virgin Mary.

Crusader Art in the Later Twelfth Century, 1163–1187

Only eight days after the funeral of his brother, Baldwin III, Amalric was crowned on February 18, 1163, a Monday. It was a curious date for the event, indicating an urgent need to put the new king in place in the face of some opposition. Shortly thereafter his contested marriage to Agnes of Courtenay, his third cousin, was annulled although their two children, Sibylla and Baldwin, were declared legitimate and placed in the royal succession. Following this difficult beginning, Amalric proceeded cautiously, and when he decided to remarry in 1165, he sought to strengthen the Kingdom by means of a politically advantageous union. His efforts were rewarded with the hand of a Byzantine Princess, Maria, sent to him with the approval of Emperor Manuel.

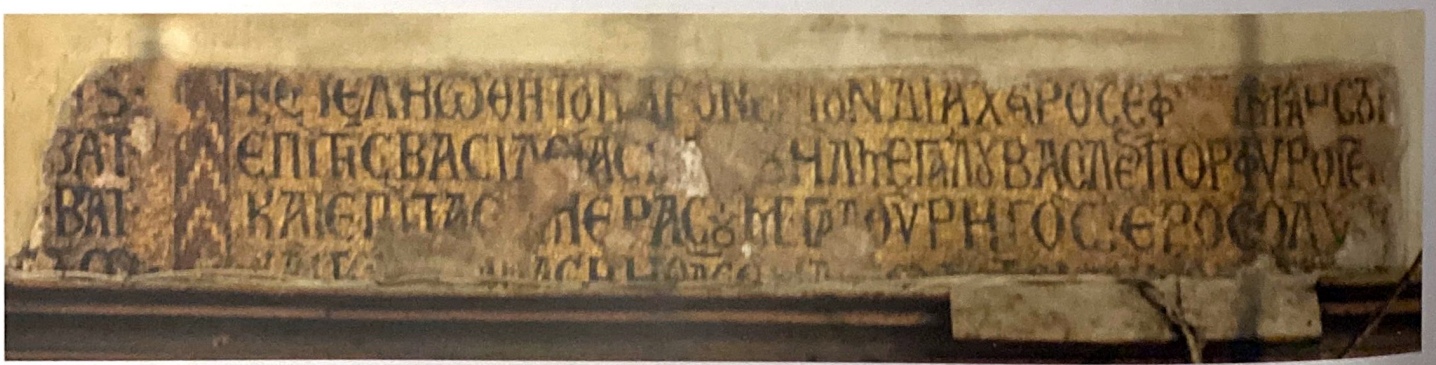
32. Denier of King Amalric I with the aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre
King Amalric followed the lead of Baldwin III in issuing a new denier with royal imagery. It also featured an architectural motif, which became a Crusader characteristic. In this instance, the architecture is the interior of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, that part of the church that was the most Byzantine having been rebuilt in 1048. In doing this Amalric expressed his interest in a strongly bilateral Crusader–Byzantine policy against the Muslims.

Amalric and Maria were married in the Crusader Cathedral of Tyre on August 29, 1167.

In the meantime, Amalric had initiated in conjunction with his Byzantine allies, a new strategy seeking to dominate Egypt, targeting the seat of the Muslim leaders in Cairo. It was a well-chosen policy, and had it been successful, it would have avoided the eventual fall of the Kingdom later in 1187. It was also in these years, probably in the period just after his coronation, that Amalric issued a new royal Jerusalem denier, one that symbolized the Crusader Kingdom, but also signified the strong alliance with the Byzantines. Amalric did this by initiating new imagery on his coin type, changing the Tower of David used by Baldwin III to the interior of the Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (fig. 32). This remarkable choice not only represented the most holy pilgrimage site controlled by the Crusaders, it also focused attention on the Byzantine part of the Holy Sepulchre rebuilt in the 1040s.

The strength of this Crusader–Byzantine alliance is expressed again in his greatest artistic commission, the renovation and decoration of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. A fragmentary bilingual mosaic inscription in Latin and Greek on the bema (or sanctuary) wall of the church gives us the details of this important collaboration (fig. 33). The two texts are subtly different in their wording, hierarchy of participants, and protocol. But the basic message is the same, namely, that King Amalric, Emperor Manuel Komnenos, and Bishop Ralph of Bethlehem, commissioned this work by the hand of the mosaicist, Ephraim.[26] The dating of the work is presumably from the time of Amalric's marriage to Maria in August 1167 to the date given in the mosaic inscription, 1169. The project to renovate, expand and decorate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with mosaics and sculpture was impressively multicultural and ecumenical as we have seen. This Bethlehem project, to renovate, conserve, and expand the mosaic program of decoration of the sixth-century Church

33. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity: bema of the church (south side), bilingual dedicatory inscription
This important inscription, written in both Latin and Greek, is separated by a striking ornamental element that reminds us of the colorful headpieces in the Melisende Psalter. The surviving fragment of the inscription includes mostly the Greek text, but a tiny bit in Latin can be seen to the left. When both elements of the inscription were intact originally, it meant that the name of King Amalric was celebrated as a sponsor of this project at the start of the Latin text read left to right, whereas in the Greek both the name of the mosaicist, Ephraim, and the emperor, Manuel, precede that of the Crusader king.



of the Nativity demonstrates an even stronger Crusader–Byzantine bond in its patronage and program of imagery, which is rather different in content but no less multicultural and ecumenical. And it is carried out by the work of Greeks, Syrians and Venetians, mosaicists explicitly attested in the various inscriptions.

Much of the mosaic program at the Church of the Nativity is lost today, but we know from written sources – mostly pilgrims' accounts – what the essential components of the program were. As one approached the church, on the exterior of the west wall (see above, fig. 1) there was said to be a mosaic of the Three Magi coming to worship the newborn child Jesus. On the interior of the west wall, over the entrance doorway, there was a large Tree of Jesse with Latin inscriptions, drawing attention to the Old Testament genealogy of Christ from the house of David. In the eastern apse there was a large cult image of the Virgin and Child *Platytera*. (All three of these components are now lost.) This is a type of image in which the Virgin stands with her hands held out in prayer with the Child in a mandorla suspended in front of her. She was flanked by Old Testament figures and given identifying inscriptions in Latin. This image anchored the other end of the main axis of the Church. On the façade of the arch in front of the eastern apse, at the crossing, there was a scene of the Annunciation with inscriptions in Latin from Luke 1: 28 and 38. The scenes of the life of Christ following the incarnation began downstairs in the apsidal niche of the shrine grotto at the traditional site of the birth of Christ. There we find a somewhat fragmentary but magnificent Byzantine-style mosaic of the Nativity with lavish use of gold and silver tesserae, a Bethlehem hallmark, including a Latin inscription of Luke 2:14, "[Gloria in excelsis deo et] in [terr]a pax hominibus bo[nae voluntatis]"[27] (fig. 34). Back upstairs, images of later events in the life of Christ continue in the main spaces of the east end of the church, that is, in the bema in front of the apse and in the north and south transepts where we find equally remarkable scenes in various styles. The Epiphany with the Three Magi (now lost) appeared for the second time in the south transept apse. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, also now lost, was on one side of the bema. On the southeast transept wall we can still see the Transfiguration and the Entry into Jerusalem. On the northeast transept wall there is the Doubting Thomas (fig. 35) and the Ascension. The Pentecost and the Dormition of the Virgin back in the bema in front of the apse completed this evocation of the *Dodekaorta*, a basic Byzantine mosaic program of liturgical decoration. But significantly all of these images were accompanied by Latin inscriptions. And it is interesting and important to realize that some of these images were done by Byzantine Greeks, some by Byzantine-trained Crusader mosaicists, and some by Venetian artists, judging from the various styles we see, and the remains of an inscription referring to a mosaicist with a Venetian name in the north transept. In sum, there is a unity here of Byzantine and Crusader talent working presumably under the direction of the Greek, Ephraim, named in the major inscription, creating what was originally a full program of mosaic decoration based on the *Dodekaorta*, which are the 12 principal feasts of the liturgical year so important in Byzantium since the eleventh century.

What appears in the nave is completely different in text and image, message and content (fig. 36). Much of the original decoration done *c.* AD 700 apparently still remained, which the combined Crusader–Byzantine workshop apparently restored and expanded. This program was focused on textual presentations pertaining to the early church councils. On the south wall were grand architectural frameworks in which the summaries, or symbols, of the seven Ecumenical Councils of the Church (AD 325–787) were quoted at some length. On the north side there were similar conciliar symbols from six provincial eastern early assemblies (AD 255–364), punctuated in the center of the wall by a magnificent gold and silver jewelled cross, an impressive representation of the "Cross of Glory". Significantly, it is an Early Christian/Early Byzantine image of the triumphant cross from *c.* 700, not a Crusader image of the True Cross known from twelfth-century evidence. Equally significantly, the content of these conciliar summaries seems directed at what all Christians share in their beliefs (south wall) and anti-heretical statements (north wall), both equally relevant to Bethlehem and its special circumstances during the eighth and the twelfth centuries. Twelve out of the thirteen texts are in Greek, only the

34. (opposite) **Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity: Cave Grotto of the Nativity, mosaic of the Nativity**
This one of the most impressive works to survive from the Crusader period, despite its heavily damaged and very fragmentary condition. The Byzantine style of the mosaic is combined with the special configuration of the manger that reflects the Crusader period precisely and the Latin inscription at the base of the scene to exemplify the merger of artistic traditions in Crusader art. The handsome chrysography over the figure of the Virgin creates an especially elegant example of the spiritualized rendering of the Mother of God.

35. (above) **Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity: north transept, mosaic of the Doubting Thomas**
This is the best preserved example of the scenes of the Life of Christ that survive from the Crusader program of decoration at Bethlehem. The image shows especial refinement in the use of gold and silver tesserae as well as mother-of-pearl inlay, in the extent of chrysography that highlights the figures, and in the remarkable repertoire of colorful ornament that reflects Western, Byzantine, and Near Eastern sources the artists must have known. This mosaic suggests how magnificent the entire ensemble must have been when the full program was restored and completed by Byzantine, Syrian, and Crusader mosaicists in 1169.

symbol quoted from the seventh Ecumenical Council – Nicaea II, the council on holy images, held after the original program was done in Greek – was written in Latin. For this venerable program the Crusader–Byzantine atelier preserved and conserved what they could and added to what was gone, or needed to be finished. Large fragments of this part of the program survive today on the north wall, smaller fragments on the south side.

To this original *c.* 700 ensemble carried out in the nave, the Crusader–Byzantine workshop added decorative mosaics. There were bust-length ancestors of Christ below the council summaries, vine-scroll motifs above and below the clerestory windows above, and between the windows there were monumental full-length standing angels striding towards the eastern end of the nave. One of these angels preserves a remarkable inscription at his feet, one which is bilingual again, but this time it is in Latin and Syriac. It says in Latin, "Basilius pictor"; in Syriac it says, "Basil the deacon depicted [this]."[28]

What is impressive about this program is the way the Crusader–Byzantine atelier completed the surviving early nave mosaics of *c.* 700 and added new work to it in what was clearly a remarkably multicultural workshop consisting of people speaking many different tongues: Latin, Greek and Syriac, as well as the Venetian dialect. The mosaics are of excellent quality, and the best of them rank with the best contemporary Byzantine mosaics we know. They embody a complex message to the viewer, whether local Christian, recently arrived Crusader, Frankish resident, Greek Orthodox or Western European pilgrim, that combines bible-inspired imagery of the Old and New Testaments with emphases on genealogy and liturgy, and the shared faith of the Church as articulated in early ecclesiastical councils, both ecumenical and regional. The size of the program, the lavishness of the materials and technique, and the quality of the artistic design must have equaled or even surpassed what could be seen in Jerusalem at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The difference is that so little survives from the latter, but in Bethlehem we have significant extant portions of the work from 1167 to 1169. And what is providential is that the great mosaic of the event commemorated at this dominical site of Christ's birth, the Nativity, demonstrates outstanding work as the climax of the program experienced by each pilgrim visiting this major holy place downstairs in the grotto.

There is much other high-quality work here at the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, mostly in the form of encaustic icon painting on the columns of the nave and south aisle, in the manner of the 1130 Virgin and Child enthroned[29] (see above, fig. 9). Unfortunately, many of these paintings are now heavily damaged. Notable as well is the fact that many other monumental paintings were done in the 1160s and 1170s in the Crusader States, also in fresco technique. We find them at Abu Ghosh, a Hospitaller church not far from Bethlehem, in the remains of the Damascus Gate Chapel in Jerusalem, at the pilgrimage shrine in Bethany east of the Mount of Olives, and even in a chapel at the Castle of Crac des Chevaliers, far to the north, in the county of Tripoli. All are quite fragmentary; none remotely approximates the vast scale of the mosaics at the two greatest churches, the Church of the Nativity, or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. What is surprising is that when, after the great earthquake of June 29, 1170 hits Syria, the project to decorate the third great dominical site of the Incarnation in Nazareth is carried out, the medium of choice is neither in mosaics nor frescoes or other forms of painting, but in figural relief sculpture.

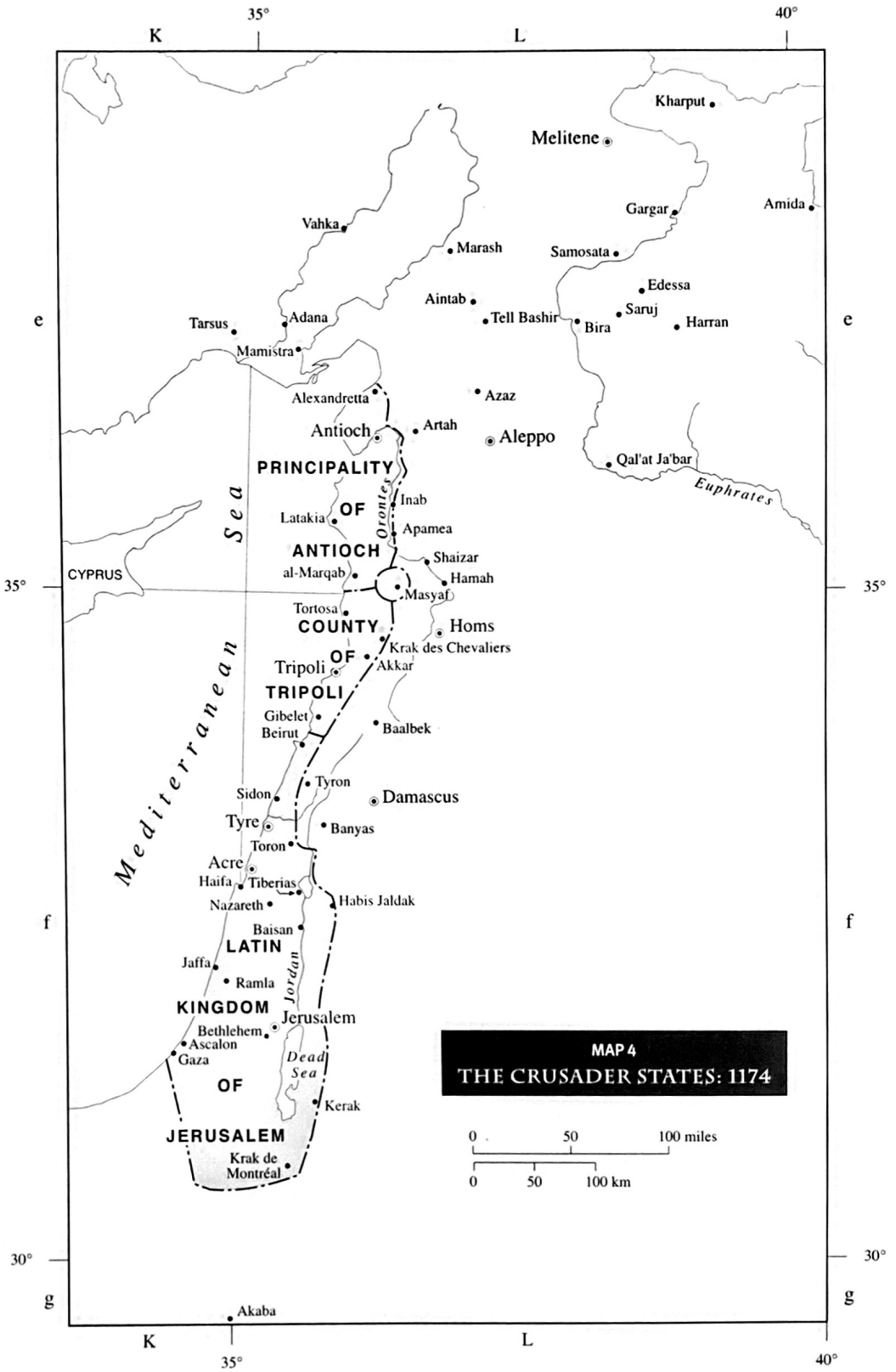
In light of the projects at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem during the late 1160s and the earlier work at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the 1140s and 1150s it is not surprising that high-quality manuscripts, mostly ecclesiastical service books, were continuing to be done in the 1160s at the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The most notable examples are gospel books to

36. (opposite) Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity: nave, interior view
This stately nave was designed and built in the sixth century, in the time of the Emperor Justinian. A program of mosaics was done by *c.* 700, which the Crusaders found, renovated and expanded. Meanwhile they facilitated the painting of encaustic icons on the columns of the nave, depicting a remarkable range of saints that reflect the great variety of pilgrims to visit here in the twelfth century. The impressive wooden roof was replaced by the Franciscans after the Crusaders had left, in the fifteenth century. The church today needs a full project of cleaning and conservation to insure its structural and artistic integrity for the future.

be used for liturgical services, of which one survives in Paris (Paris, BNF MS lat. 276) and one in the Vatican Library in Rome (Rome, BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5974)[30] (fig. 37). Both feature traditional imagery of the four evangelists painted in very sophisticated Byzantine-inspired Crusader style. The Crusader artist was using Byzantine examples as his model and he may have been supervised by a Greek master, but his results incorporate Italianate decorative motifs and some remarkable western-inspired iconography. In the Paris codex, for example, two of the seated evangelists have the western motif of authors receiving inspiration from an angel whispering in their ear, an imagery shared by the St. Matthew in the Vatican manuscript. In the latter book, the four seated evangelists' headpieces are joined by a folio on which the four authors stand suspended on a gold ground holding impressive gospel books. The actual model for this full-page miniature with the four evangelists appears to be in a twelfth-century Byzantine codex now also in the Vatican Library (Rome, BAV, MS Vat. Gr. 756). It demonstrates how the artist drew directly on his source and creatively introduced various western-inspired motifs producing the unique Crusader result.

King Amalric died in 1174 at the age of 38, and his successor, Baldwin IV, was only 13 years of age (Map 4). When Baldwin IV was consecrated king in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on July 15, 1174, it was a glorious occasion – the 25th anniversary of the dedication of the Church, and the 75th anniversary of the taking of Jerusalem by the First Crusade. But serious trouble was looming ahead for the Latin Kingdom. For one thing, Baldwin IV had troubling health symptoms that eventually emerged into leprosy. Secondly, there was a considerable struggle internally over who would serve as regent for the young king, who would not reach his majority until two years later. Count Raymond of Tripoli eventually won out, but already the situation was worsening for the Crusaders with the rise of a significant new Muslim adversary. A third and truly dangerous problem was the fact that in 1171, a new sultan had taken power in Cairo, Al-Malik al-Nasir Salah ed-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub. Known to the modern world as Saladin, he was neither an Arab nor a Turk, but a Kurd, and he established the new Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt. His policy was forth-

37. Gospel book (Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. MS 5974), Four Standing Evangelists, fol. 3v, full-page miniature (22.0 x 15.9 cm) This frontispiece shows the evangelists holding their gospel books. It is a very close copy by the Crusader artist of a page in another Vatican manuscript, Vat. Gr. 756. Despite the Byzantine design of the figures, the frame and the frame ornament, these figures seem to float across the surface of the folio quite weightlessly, even overlapping the upper and lower borders. With their Crusader pearl dot haloes and their handsome abstract drapery based on this Komnenian model, these figures parallel some of the icons found on the columns of the Church of the Nativity.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Tripoli
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Beirut
Baalbek
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MAP 4
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1174
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right, one of encircling the Crusader States so that he could lead a *jihad* against the Franks and recapture Jerusalem for Islam. When the dangerous Nureddin unexpectedly died in May of 1174 and his Syrian holdings began to disintegrate, Saladin was free to take over. By May of 1175, Saladin had taken control of Damascus, and the caliph in Baghdad had officially invested him with the governments of Egypt and Syria.

In 1176 a further development created a new urgency to this already serious situation. In September the Seljuk Turks inflicted a major defeat on the Byzantine army of Emperor Manuel Komnenos at Myriocephalum in Anatolia. King Baldwin urgently called for help from the West now that the Crusader States were exposed to both a Turkish and an Ayyubid attack. Seizing the initiative, Saladin immediately marched into the Latin Kingdom from Egypt. In response Baldwin IV led a small Crusader army to confront Saladin at Mont Gisard (Tel Gezer), near Ramlah. On November 25, 1177, Baldwin inflicted a major defeat on Saladin with a surprise attack. Crusader soldiers reported sighting St. George fighting with them on the battlefield, echoing similar reports heard at Antioch in 1097 and Jerusalem in 1099. It would be Baldwin's most impressive victory over the great Muslim leader, and it bought him time to consolidate his defenses. In thanksgiving for this victory, the Crusaders built a monastery on the site, dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria on whose feast day the battle had been fought. Clearly, despite his disease Baldwin IV was determined to defend the Latin Kingdom vigorously.

Because of these circumstances in the 1170s, we find it to be one of the most intense periods of Crusader fortification and castle building. The very walls of Jerusalem had fallen somewhat into disrepair over the years and major rebuilding was initiated with annual taxation on the secular and ecclesiastical lords of the Kingdom for this purpose. Meanwhile a number of major castles were built, rebuilt, renovated, and/or expanded. Some were very successful campaigns to build defensive bulwarks designed to protect Crusader lands.

Two of the most important castles that were rebuilt and expanded were Belvoir, overlooking the Jordan River, south of Lake Galilee, and Crac des Chevaliers west of Homs farther north. Belvoir was a *castrum*-type castle – four-square in design with towers at the corners – which had been sold to the Hospitallers in 1168. It was rebuilt during the 1170s with heavily fortified walls, each approximately 100 m long (see above, fig. 11). It became an example of a new concentric construction, actually a *castrum* within a *castrum*, with a chapel inside the inner castle.[31] This chapel, now destroyed, was moreover apparently decorated with handsome figural sculptures. Fragments remain of a smiling boy's head with a vivacious expressive quality, an angel with displayed wings in flight carrying a book with covered hands, and a wonderful bearded male head with curling locks of hair across his forehead (fig. 38). These carvings evoke parallels with the best Crusader Romanesque work going on elsewhere in

38. Belvoir Castle: sculpture of the head of a bearded man
The figural sculpture at Belvoir, done during and after its rebuilding in the 1170s, parallels high-quality work being done in Jerusalem and Nazareth at roughly the same time. In this case the beautiful linear patterns of the hair and beard and abstract forms of the head and eyes exemplify the very best in Romanesque-style sculpture that here abstractly but effectively anthropomorphizes the capital of an engaged column for one of the halls in the castle.

39. Crac des Chevaliers Castle, inner castle: view of the inner courtyard
This view includes later construction like the loggia and the great hall to the left, built in the thirteenth century. But the chapel is directly on the far side, entered by the large, wide-pointed arch, and stretches from the staircase at the left to the edge of the photo at the right. In the distance at the center we can see the rear side of the great twelfth-century tower that has monumental machicoulas on the far side, one of the major strong points in the defenses of the inner fortifications.

the Crusader States, such as at Nazareth. Such sculpture also seems to parallel interest in figural carving going on in Jerusalem and found in Sebastiye at the Church of St. John.

The greatest surviving Hospitaller castle from the Crusader era is of course that of Crac des Chevaliers[32] (fig. 39). Crac had been given to the Hospitallers in 1142, but major repairs were undertaken in 1170 after the great earthquake in Syria. At Crac the concentric idea was also followed but the outer walls were not erected until after the second major earthquake in 1202. In the 1170s the inner fortress was repaired, including the castle chapel, the latter which also received a program of fresco decoration now almost entirely lost. The only surviving figural example belonging to the chapel is a small fresco painting of the Presentation in the Temple done later, about 1200. It was apparently commissioned for a small private chapel on one external wall, at one end of the room of "one hundred meters". However, outside the castle walls there was also a small chapel erected to serve the local people who farmed the fields in the valley nearby. Here about 1170 we find fragments of other figural frescoes, including part of an image of St. George and the boy of Mytilene, imagery popular in the Near East, one which we shall see in icon painting later on in the thirteenth century. This characteristically eastern image is done here in a very Romanesque style, but other saints in this chapel, such as the figure of St. Pantaleimon or the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria,* show strong Byzantine influence. Taken together, these paintings demonstrate a varied "Crusader" repertoire of saints which may have been done, starting about 1170, by local Syrian Orthodox painters commissioned by the Hospitallers inside the castle.[33]

These two large Crusader castles were successfully built and manned by the Hospitallers. Some smaller projects were not so successful. In 1178 the king sponsored the construction of a new castle, Chastellet, at Jacob's Ford on the Jordan, north of Lake Galilee. He gave it to the Templars to protect one important point of entry into the Kingdom. But in 1179 Saladin marched into Crusader territory in the spring, fighting a victorious battle in the vicinity of Banyas just to the north. Following up on this success, Saladin attacked and took Chastellet on August 31, 1179, after which he razed it to the ground!

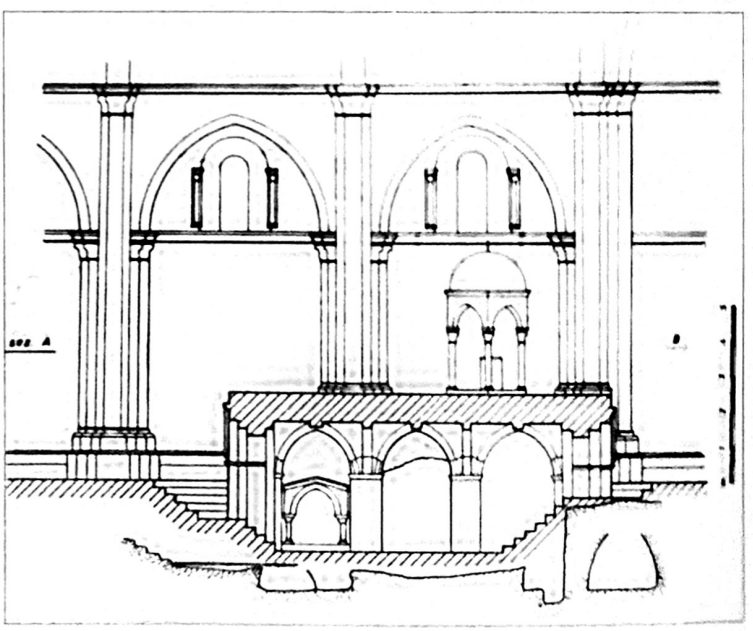
Compared to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Nazareth was the least prominent and the most isolated of the three dominical holy sites, located approximately twenty miles southeast of Acre and about twelve miles northwest of Belvoir. Having received only a small Crusader church in the early years of the twelfth century after the Crusaders took control, a chapter of Augustinian canons was established there by 1109. Nazareth was made an archbishopric in 1128, but no effort was made at that time to enlarge the Church of the Annunciation or to give it any particular artistic attention. It was only after the earthquake of 1170 that the current archbishop, Letard II, decided to enlarge the church and give it a major program of decoration.

The plans for the Church of the Annunciation were ambitious. At just under 73 meters in length, it was comparable to both the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity. With a nave of six bays, a choir and a tripartite apsidal east end, and massively thick walls to protect it from future earthquakes, this church was one of the largest basilicas in the Crusader States. Although the church was destroyed in 1263 by the Mamluks, we know that the main program of decoration was focused on the holy shrine of the Annunciation (figs. 40 and 41) and on the main portal at the west end. Unlike the churches at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, this program featured carved figural decoration of outstanding quality, with no frescoes or mosaics included so far as we know.

Because of the later destruction, most of the sculpture that was placed on the west portal has survived as fragments, damaged when Baybars razed the church in 1263. This sculpture was found in excavations from 1908 to 1909 and the 1950s and its original use has been carefully reconstructed. The program executed here reminds us of the great French sculptured portals from the mid-twelfth century. Unlike the new Gothic churches at St. Denis and Chartres, which had triple portals on their west end from the 1140s, here there was a single monumental door with a large

40. (opposite) **Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation: view of the Shrine of the Annunciation in the lower church**
This shrine marking the holy site of the Incarnation of Christ is located today in the lower level of the Franciscan church built in the 1960s. The lighted chamber (in effect, the House of the Virgin), situated between two piers of the Crusader church of the 1170s, was planned to have a stone facing and an altar under a baldacchino on its top over the entry below. The baldacchino designed to adorn it was never completed, and the capitals executed as its decoration were buried and only discovered in the early twentieth century.

41. (below) **Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation: drawing (elevation) of the Shrine Grotto in the Crusader church**
This elevation is based on the studies of B. Bagatti and E. Alliata, after their excavations on the site in the 1950s. Here you see how the planned baldacchino would have looked on top of the shrine below. The beautiful polygonal capitals with scenes of the lives of the Apostles would have supported the canopy of the baldacchino.



Romanesque arch like we see at Sainte Foi in Conques. The program included carved ornamental archivolts with imagery of the zodiac and the constellations framed with a Latin inscription above the arch, similar to the central portal at St. Benigne in Dijon. Unlike St. Benigne the inscription at Nazareth seems to have appeared on the lintel as well. The main tympanum contained a large figure of Christ enthroned with angels, similar to what we find in certain twelfth-century Burgundian churches. However, in the splayed jambs of the portal there were probably four life-sized figures; two of the apostles – the torso of St. Peter is extant – and two of the prophets – an impressive torso of a prophet survives in the Chatsworth collection in England (fig. 42). St. Peter here holds his keys and a model of the church, attributes which must refer to his role in founding the church here at Nazareth in honor of the Virgin and the Annunciation. These *statue-colonnes* are impressive and they do reflect the configuration of the new Gothic portals at St. Denis and Chartres from the 1140s, even though the style of the Nazareth sculptures seems to be that of a Crusader artist working in a Levantine Romanesque manner.

42. Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation: sculpture of the life-sized torso of St. Peter (fragment) from the west façade
This impressive torso is identified by Peter's attributes of the keys. He also carries a model of a church. This could be the Church of the Annunciation, but it also could be the Church of St. Peter in Rome, his burial place. In any case, Peter was apparently paired here with several (three?) other full-length quasi-life-sized figures on the jambs of the west façade of this church. Although damaged during the destruction of this church by Baybars in the 1260s, this torso is important evidence for the remarkable use of a Romanesque-style monumental figural sculpture on door jambs here in the 1170s by Crusader artists, as seen in France at St. Denis and Chartres in the 1140s.

Unlike the portal sculpture, the five main capitals associated with the Crusader shrine of the Annunciation in the sixth bay of the northern side aisle inside the church were discovered intact, virtually undamaged.[34] Like the portal sculptures, they appear to have been carved in the late 1170s/early 1180s, but astonishingly, they were never put in place. They were instead apparently buried for safekeeping when Nazareth was threatened by Saladin's invasions, and only later uncovered during excavations in 1908–1909. Four of these capitals have a polygonal configuration with round arched architectural superstructures defining six faces below. Each capital contains figural imagery pertaining to the history of the apostles. One capital is devoted to two events in the life of St. Peter, another has the doubting Thomas episode. A third capital depicts events from the life and martyrdom of St. James, and the fourth capital has events from the life of St. Matthew (fig. 43). These remarkable capitals are joined by a fifth capital, a larger capital with the same architectural superstructure in a rectangular configuration. The rectangular capital depicts the Virgin Mary conducting an apostle through hell, the latter symbolized by a pair of threatening demons on each side of the front face.

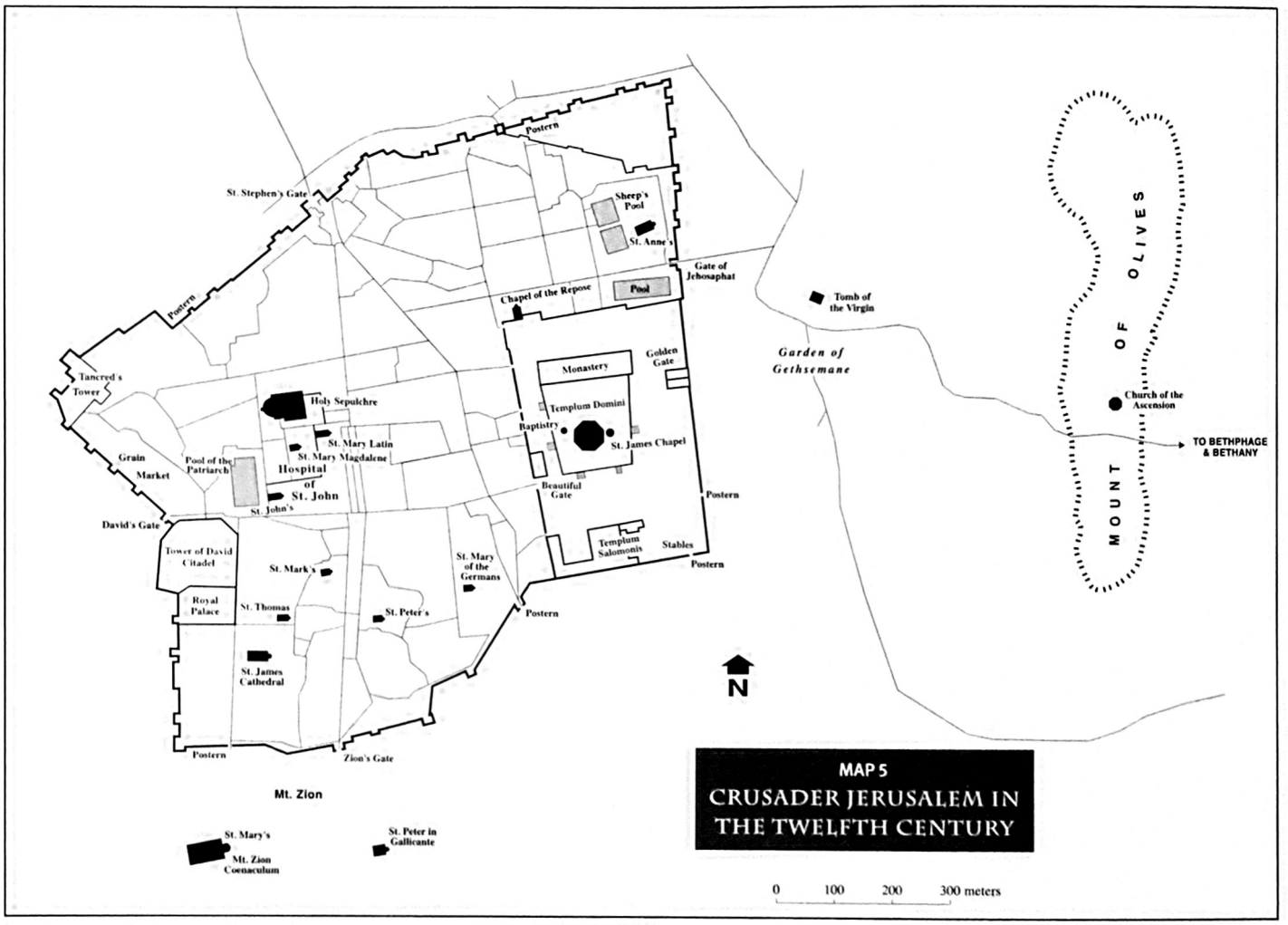
Based on the excavated evidence, the argument has been made[35] that the four polygonal capitals were intended for a baldacchino or canopy-like structure over the shrine monument which surmounted the house of the Virgin. This monument marked the place where the Incarnation occurred, that is, the place where the Archangel Gabriel told

43. Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation: polygonal capital, figural sculpture (height of the capital: 42.7 cm) King Hyrtacus and St. Matthew with Iphegenia

The architectural superstructure provides six faces for these extraordinary capitals which are "scooped out" and given textured surfaces in their cave-like *muqarnas*-inspired sections. The figures themselves are impressively monumental, dynamically expressive in their poses, and articulated by complex drapery that would have looked remarkable when polychromed in primary colors. One can imagine the impact of the jeweled haloes and crowns, and the sumptuous effect of the colored drapery with the ornamental architecture overhead that celebrated events in the lives of important disciples of Christ who founded here in Nazareth one of the first shrines to the Virgin in the form of her house, where the Incarnation took place.

the Virgin Mary that she was to be the Mother of God. The capitals with the lives of the apostles express the role the apostles, especially Peter, played in establishing this holy site in honor of the Virgin and the Incarnation of Jesus. The rectangular capital was apparently closely associated with this shrine, but intended to be placed on one of the piers surrounding the monument in the sixth bay side aisle. Its imagery also honors the Virgin, but has an important liturgical connection to Nazareth. It represents the Virgin Mary leading an apostle through hell, imitating Christ at the Harrowing of Hell. This is Easter imagery familiar from the great Anastasis mosaic in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Easter link is found in the liturgical celebration of the Annunciation to the Virgin and the Incarnation of Christ on March 25. It is a commemoration whose date as often as not fell during Holy Week and the Easter season in the ecclesiastical calendar, then as now. So here at Nazareth novel iconography was chosen to link the Virgin with the drama of Easter that is otherwise almost exclusively focused on Christ.

When the five Nazareth capitals were first found, scholars wondered who the artists were and where they worked.[36] We now know the stone they are made from is local, and the artist must have been a top-quality and very experienced Crusader sculptor who may have worked in Jerusalem before he came to Nazareth in the late 1170s. Attempts to link this artist to France – to Plaimpied in the Berri or Vienne in the Rhone Valley – have foundered on



the rich diversity of Romanesque formal characteristics combined with various Levantine features at Nazareth. One especially interesting feature is the remarkable scooped-out faces of the capitals so reminiscent of *muqarnas*, new in Islamic architecture in the twelfth century. This artist therefore appears to be born and trained in the Levant, but with strong French artistic ancestry. Other artists may have worked with him in this workshop, but the capitals were all done by the main master. Valentino Pace has argued that the local, that is, the late antique, Byzantine, Syrian, and Islamic visual context here at Nazareth accounts for the differences in the figural and ornamental forms in these sculptures, when compared to their French antecedents in the Rhone Valley, Burgundy and central France.[37]

Given the high quality of the sculpture done at Nazareth, and the large size of the program there, presumably done by several sculptors, it is surprising that we find so few sculptures done elsewhere in this style. Only one or two pilaster capitals exist in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a few pieces from the nearby Church on Mount Tabor. But

we have seen similar high-quality Levantine Romanesque Crusader sculpture done for the Hospitallers at Belvoir at about the same time or slightly before, and we know that excellent mostly non-figural sculpture containing vegetal and floral ornament was being done at this time in Jerusalem for the Templars. What is extraordinary at Nazareth is that Archbishop Letard II found an outstanding artist and commissioned such a remarkable program for this great holy site. It is a program that is distinctively different from the dominical churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, not only in terms of its imagery and content, but also because of its medium. Nowhere else in the Crusader States do we find such outstanding Crusader figural sculpture done on a monumental scale in such a vivacious, sophisticated and complex Levantine Romanesque style.

Back in Jerusalem the Templars had been expanding their residential and ecclesiastical buildings at the southwestern corner of the Haram al-Sharif in the 1160s and 1170s (Map 5). For this project extensive non-figural sculpture was commissioned, much of which has survived by being reused by the Muslims on structures in and around the Haram, after they reconquered Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1244. Exquisite plaques, tympana, and capitals are found as decoration, especially in the Aqsa Mosque (fig. 44) and the Dome of the Rock. One particularly remarkable monument is the *dikkah* in the Aqsa Mosque. The *dikkah*, that is, the prayer platform, is almost completely constructed of handsome reused sculpture featuring the "wet-leaf acanthus" style characteristic of this Templar workshop.[38] Given the high quality of the work of these artists and the impressive quantity of sculpture they produced, it would not be surprising to find that sculptors from this workshop were commissioned to create the tomb of King Baldwin IV when he finally succumbed to his dread disease of leprosy, probably between April 15 and May 15, 1185. Even though we know almost nothing about his tomb except its location next to those of Baldwin III and Amalric in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a finely decorated tomb would have been appropriate for Baldwin IV. Despite his leprosy, he carried out his duties and honored his responsibilities admirably, indeed he fought valiantly to protect his kingdom against the Muslims. As long as he ruled, royal Crusader armies lost no major battle to Saladin. His successors were not so successful.

Baldwin's successors also did not have a highly trained confidant like William of Tyre, to act as a mentor and to write about them as kings and major personalities as William did in his *History of Outremer*. Having written 21 books in his "History," and begun a 22nd, which breaks off in mid-1184, William apparently died shortly after the death of his ward, Baldwin IV. His text written in Latin would be translated into Old French sometime shortly after the Fifth Crusade and various continuations would be added starting in the 1230s. As we shall see in our discussion of phase three of Crusader Art, it would then become a major text for secular book illustration starting in the 1240s and lasting on beyond the end of the Crusader States in the Holy Land.

44. Jerusalem, Haram al-Sharif: al-Aqsa Mosque, view of the west façade
Crusader *spolia* is found in the entrance porch sculpture of the Aqsa, known to the Crusaders as the *Templum Salomonis*, and home to the Templars as early as 1118 in part of the royal palace. Later when the *Templum Salomonis* became the headquarters of the Templars, they commissioned major sculpture here including the beautiful wet-leaf acanthus-style work from the late twelfth century. The *Dikkah* inside the Aqsa mosque has been constructed by the skilful reuse of some of the most beautiful Crusader non-figural sculpture created during the later twelfth century in this style.

45. Jerusalem, Mt. Sion: the coenaculum, interior view
This features the most advanced rib vaulting employed by the Crusaders in the twelfth century. The ribs employed here are lighter and more linear than those that appear in the choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but the broad, gracefully pointed arches continue to be virtually unchanged from earlier examples, seemingly a staple of twelfth-century Crusader architecture and one of the most important borrowings from Arab Levantine architecture.

The new king, Baldwin V, who was the nephew of Baldwin IV, was only seven years old when he came to the throne on May 16, 1185. His "reign" was so brief that it is difficult to connect very much art with his time as king. One major holy site that was renovated and decorated in the 1180s, possibly during his reign and the reign of Baldwin IV, was the Coenaculum on Mount Sion (fig. 45). The project was complicated and we cannot date it with any precision, but it was one of the last important Crusader works done in Jerusalem before the city fell to Saladin in 1187. The upper room was of course the reputed site of the Last Supper and the place where the apostles gathered at the time of the Pentecostal descent of the Holy Spirit. It was attached to the large and important church, now totally destroyed, of St. Mary Mt. Sion. The Augustinian (Austin) canons who were in charge of the church presumably planned this renovation. In the 1180s the shrine of the Coenaculum was given dramatic new architecture, featuring four large Gothic ribbed vaults, the most developed Gothic architecture yet seen in the Latin Kingdom. Built on two levels, it became the likely source of replication by Austin canons in England, where we find elevated refectories at, e.g., Easby Abbey and elsewhere.

The Latin Kingdom was spared an immediate attack by Saladin in 1185 following the death of Baldwin IV partly because a four-year truce was put in place, one of several arranged by the Crusaders with Saladin since the 1170s, and partly because Saladin himself became deathly ill in the winter of 1185–1186. But misfortune struck the Crusaders soon afterwards, as the frail and sickly boy king, Baldwin V, died in the late summer of 1186 before his ninth birthday. Despite his brief time on the throne, Baldwin V was given a remarkable tomb, apparently the most ornate of any twelfth-century Crusader king. Although it was destroyed along with the others in 1808, we know about it from drawings.[39] Like the other royal sarcophagi it was given a large inscription on top, but unlike the others it was also given lavish figural and non-figural decoration. Bust-length figures of Christ flanked by two angels appeared on its main side above an architectural façade consisting of two arches enclosing symbolic pelicans, and three pairs of knotted columns below. It is clear from the drawing that this exquisite decorative sculpture must have been carried out by artists belonging to the Templar workshop on the Haram, hired or loaned to the Holy Sepulchre for this purpose. The tomb must have been done sometime between

the death of the king, and the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187.

Following the death of Baldwin V, the crown of the Latin Kingdom was assumed by Sibylla, daughter of Amalric, and her husband, Guy de Lusignan. After their coronation, presumably no later than September of 1186, the serious danger of civil war arose between rival factions in the Kingdom. But a greater danger arose when the truce with Saladin was broken. In response to an unprovoked attack on a Muslim caravan by Raynauld de Chatillon, Saladin vowed to attack the Latin Kingdom. A legend arose that Saladin's sister was traveling in this caravan and was killed by the attackers. In any case, Saladin's response was swift. A Muslim army crossed the Jordan on July 1, 1187, and took the city of Tiberias the next day. On July 4, 1187 the battle at the Horns of Hattin ensued. Saladin's army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Crusaders, and most of the military manpower of the Latin Kingdom was killed or sold into slavery. Raynauld de Chatillon himself was executed by the hand of Saladin. King Guy, however, was not harmed; he was taken to Damascus and put in prison where he remained for two years. Saladin erected a monument on the place of his victory, now reduced to a few layers of stone recovered by recent excavations. His 'Qubbat al-Nasr" (Dome of Victory) was Saladin's answer to the Church of St. Catherine erected on the battle site of the Crusader victory at Mont Gisard.

During the following six months, Saladin led his army through the Latin Kingdom, only Tyre held out, and farther north the Crusaders were only able to hold onto Tripoli, Antioch, and Tortosa, as well as the castles of Crac des Chevaliers in the County of Tripoli, and Margat (Marqab) in the Principality of Antioch. Most importantly, on October 2, 1187, Saladin fulfilled his vow to retake Jerusalem for the Muslims. Unlike the events of July 15, 1099, however, there was no bloodbath. A ransom was arranged for those Christians who wished to leave and could pay the tax. Those who could not pay were sold into slavery. The patriarch of Jerusalem Heraclius was even allowed to leave the city and go to Tyre with gold and silver articles from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and various treasures from the Templar headquarters (al-Aqsa Mosque) and the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock).

Saladin gave thanks at Friday prayer for the restoration of the Holy City to Islam, and began the process of reclaiming the major monuments. The golden cross on the former *Templum Domini*, now again called the Dome of the Rock, was immediately taken down. Instructions were given to embellish the al-Aqsa Mosque with suitable mosaics and stone facings. At the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the fate of this Christian holy site was debated. Imad ad-Din, a Muslim chronicler, recorded part of the discussion as follows:

> The majority of those advising Saladin said the following: "Demolishing and destroying it would serve no purpose, nor would it prevent the infidels (Christians) from visiting it or prevent their having access to it. For it is not the building as it appears to the eyes but the home of the Cross and the Sepulcher that is the object of worship. The various Christian races would still be making pilgrimages here even if the earth had been dug up and thrown into the sky. And when 'Umar, prince of the Believers, conquered Jerusalem in the early days of Islam, he confirmed to the Christians the possession of the place, and did not order them to demolish the building on it."[40]

With the fall of Jerusalem, the first phase of the Crusader States, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Crusader Art was over. The greatest Christian monuments survived, that is, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Nativity, and the Church of the Annunciation, even though they were now situated in land under Muslim control. A new Crusade was called, the famous Third Crusade, and in 1192 when Acre was recovered along with other coastal territory that had belonged to the Crusaders, a new phase of Crusader history began. But the second phase of Crusader Art had already begun, at the Hospitaller castle of Margat just north of Tortosa in Syria.

The achievements of Crusader Art in its first phase of development are impressive. From an initial point where the "art of the Crusaders" consisted of the artifacts they had brought with them from Western Europe, the Crusaders began a new development by commissioning art for their immediate needs. This art included the tombs of their commanders, leaders and kings, coinage struck in the new

Crusader States, and the decoration of certain important holy places. These works were executed by artists who came with the Crusaders or people who came from the West in the wake of the First Crusade. These people were mainly Europeans who had come East, but also no doubt there were some local Christians whom the Crusaders learned they could rely on for the religious art they needed.

Because a certain number of Crusaders settled in the Near East, however, a new point of view developed. As a result Crusader Art changed, from being a kind of colonial art in the first years, to something new and different. Artists among the settlers now began to learn about local artistic traditions, especially from Greek Orthodox artists and from Byzantine works of art they had access to. These artists started to produce art that was increasingly heavily influenced by Byzantine style and iconography, and that also began to reflect certain specific aspects of the Holy Land in which these new Crusader works were being done. Moreover, it became apparent that this new art featured a strongly multicultural character, that is, the works of art began to reflect the fact of the diversity of Christian artists working and living in the Holy Land as well as the new interests which their Crusader patrons were developing.

It is therefore by the 1140s and later, in the projects to build and decorate the three largest and most important holy sites in the Latin Kingdom, that the new Crusader Art achieves its fullest development in the twelfth century. In these ambitious and remarkable works of architecture, painting, and sculpture we find a full realization of how Crusader Art is both unique and Near Eastern while still maintaining a strong link to the European west. In these projects we find genuine multicultural unity amounting to a kind of ecumenical program, remarkably quite different in each case. At Jerusalem we found a program of architecture and art no doubt conceived in conjunction with the patriarch of Jerusalem, the king of Jerusalem, and Melisende, the queen of Jerusalem, to express the meaning and function of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the primary holy site in Christendom, the cathedral of Jerusalem, and the state church of the Latin Kings. The artistic and architectural language was the product of these patrons and a team of artists and architects that must have included Crusaders and local Christians. At Bethlehem we found a program jointly commissioned by members of both the Latin Church and the Crusader and Byzantine state, and carried out by a multicultural team of artists who were identifiably Byzantine, Crusader, Syrian, and Venetian. The church was not rebuilt here but the vision and message of the original mosaic program from *c.* 700 was updated, completed and greatly expanded. At Nazareth, the program was primarily carried out by Crusader-trained sculptors who produced a unique statement of the importance of the Virgin and the Apostles at this holy site, both historically and liturgically.

In the end what was remarkable about all three of these great projects was the fact that not only do we see all of them done in a version of the newly realized Crusader style, a unique union of East and West, but also we see this new Crusader Art put to the service of proclaiming and celebrating the importance of these unique holy places in the Holy Land. Furthermore, in each case the program of decoration was individualized to the holy site, proclaiming its unique importance to the visiting pilgrim.

Notes

1. Fulcher of Chartres, Book 3, chapter 37, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem (1095–1127)*, transl. F.R. Ryan, ed. H. Fink, New York: W.W. Norton, 1973, p. 123.
2. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, A History*, 2nd edn, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 53.
3. John Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," in K.M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. H.W. Hazard and N.P. Zacour, Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, pp. 362–9.
4. Crusaders setting out in 1100 and 1101 are sometimes referred to as the "third wave" of the First Crusade. See: Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 44 ff.
5. On the Aedicule in Crusader times, see:

M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1999, pp. 74–98.
6. Fulcher of Chartres, *History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, pp. 271–272.
7. These cross reliquaries from Jerusalem were first studied by Heribert Meurer, "Kreuzreliquiare aus Jerusalem," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammllungen in Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 13 (1976), pp. 7–17.
8. There are a whole series of icons painted during the twelfth century on the columns in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The best photographs can be found in Gustav Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1988, starting with this column, on pp. 15–22, pls. III–VI.
9. For excellent discussions of early Crusader coinage, see: John Porteous, "Crusade Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," and M. Bates and D.M. Metcalf, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," in *History of the Crusades*, ed. Setton, vol. VI, pp. 355 ff., and 439 ff., respectively.
10. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 119–328.
11. On the Crusader castles, see: Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
12. William of Tyre, Book 14, chapter 18, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, vol. II, transl. and annotated E. A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, rpt. Octagon Books, New York, 1976, p. 76.
13. The pioneering study of this manuscript was by Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, pp. 1–14.
14. Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1994, pp. 67–125.
15. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 154, 156–8, and pl. 13.
16. William of Tyre, Book 16, chapter 3, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, vol. 2, pp. 139–40.
17. For a full survey of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see R. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. III, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
18. Robert Willis, "The Architectural History of the Holy Sepulchre," published in the study by George Williams, *The Holy City: Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem*, vol. II, 2nd edn, London, 1849, as chapter III, pp. 129–294. This plan appears as plate 3.
19. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "The Two Lintels of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem," in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999, pp. 176–85.
20. J. Folda, "The South Transept Façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: An Aspect of Rebuilding Zion," *The Crusades and Their Sources: Studies Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 239–57.
21. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 248.
22. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 253–74.
23. A detailed modern monographic study of this church is a major desideratum.
24. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "The Cathedral of Sebaste: Its Western Donors and Models," in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992, pp. 99–120.
25. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 297–9.
26. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 347, 350.
27. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 371–8.
28. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 61, and pp. 141–2. We await Kühnel's full study of the Bethlehem mosaics. Meanwhile the following studies are important: Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of 'Crusader' Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 45 (1991), pp. 69–85, and two studies by Henri Stern, which appeared in the *Cahiers Archéologiques*, vol. 3 (1948), pp. 82–105, and vol. 9 (1957), pp. 141–5, respectively.
29. See above, note 8.
30. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 25–33.
31. See the aerial view of Belvoir in, R. Ellenblum, "Frankish Castle-Building in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, with A. Barber, Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999, p. 144, fig. 2. See also, Meron Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1970, pp. 294–300. The full report of the results of the Israeli excavation of Belvoir has never been published.
32. The great early study is by Paul Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte: Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. XIX, with album, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939.
33. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 400–02.
34. A set of excellent black-and-white photographs taken by Garo Nalbandian were published in Jaroslav Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986, pls. 7–31.
35. Folda, *Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 15–21.
36. Folda, *Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 51–63.
37. V. Pace, "I capitelli di Nazaret e la sculptura 'franca' del XII secolo a Gerusalemme," *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Roberto Salvini*, Florence: Sansoni, 1984, pp. 87–95.
38. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 441–56.
39. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 467–9, pl. 10.21, and Zehava Jacoby, "The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185–6) and the Workshop of the Temple Area," *Gesta*, vol. 18 (1979), pp. 3–14.
40. Imad ad-Din, "The Conquest of the Holy City," in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, transl. F. Gabrieli and E.J. Costello, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, pp. 174–5.

2

Phase Two of Crusader Art

Crusader Art in New Locations and Changed Circumstances 1187–1250

The future of Crusader Art did not look good in late 1187. The catastrophic Crusader defeat at Hattin on July 4 and the loss of Jerusalem on October 2, 1187, had dealt the Latin East and Crusader Art a severe blow. Not only did the Crusaders suffer the annihilation of most of their military manpower, and serious loss of land and resources, including the three major holy sites, but also there was much destruction of city and castle fortifications and dispersal of possessions. The Crusader States only survived Saladin's invasions in 1187 and 1188 by holding on to a few cities – Tyre, Tripoli, Tortosa, Antioch – and two major castles – Crac des Chevaliers, and Marqab (Map 6). Even Tyre was on the point of surrendering when Conrad of Montferrat arrived from the West in mid-July 1187 to take charge of its defense. He immediately sent Archbishop Joscius to Rome to seek aid. Pope Gregory VIII issued the call for a new crusade on October 29, 1187.

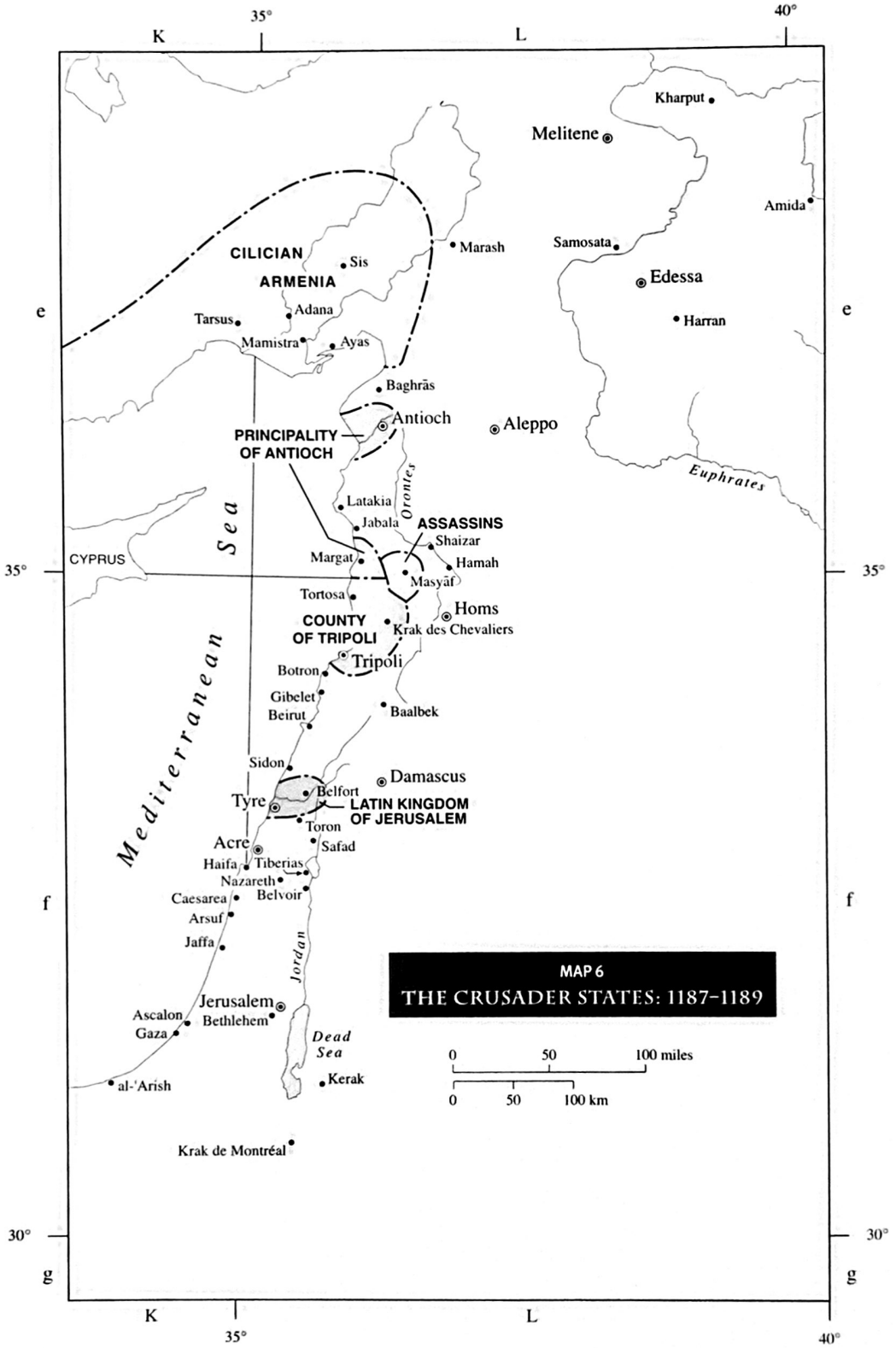
The response to the pope's call for a Third Crusade was enormous, demonstrating how important Jerusalem and the Latin East had become to the peoples of Western Europe. Starting with a fleet sent by William II of Sicily to the Crusader States in October 1188, help began to arrive. Frederick Barbarossa, veteran of the Second Crusade, set out with his army in May 1189. Henry II of England and Philippe II of France both took the cross. Even though Henry died in July 1189, and Frederick drowned in Asia Minor in June 1190, others stepped forward to lead the Crusade. The first attack was made on Acre in August of 1189 by Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, newly released from prison by Saladin in response to the pleas of Queen Sibylla.

European support of the Crusades was strong and the Crusader achievements overall were impressive, not just in Palestine during the Third Crusade in the years 1189–1191, but all over the Near East during the next fifteen years. In May of 1191, Richard I, newly crowned king of England, conquered Cyprus *en route* to Acre. In July of 1192 the city of Acre was taken by Richard I and Philippe II, and Guy de Lusignan was affirmed as king of Jerusalem. The Third Crusade army, led by Richard, retook Arsuf, Jaffa, and Ascalon on the coast, but failed to reconquer Jerusalem. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was thereby reestablished, and Acre became its new capital, but the Crusaders did not succeed in regaining control of the main Christian Holy Sites.[1]

In the years immediately following, two new Crusades were launched in an attempt to regain Jerusalem. The German Crusade led by Henry VI Hohenstaufen set out in 1197, but Henry died *en route*. The German Crusaders only managed to capture Sidon and Beirut, before returning home in 1198. Then in August of 1198, the new pope, Innocent III, proclaimed the Fourth Crusade. After sailing from Venice in 1202, this famous expedition was diverted to Constantinople in 1203, and in April 1204 the Fourth Crusade captured the city. The Crusaders proceeded to establish the Latin Empire of Constantinople, eventually capturing Thessalonika and the Morea by the end of 1205.[2]

This means that between 1191 and 1205 Crusader holdings in the Near East more than tripled in size. Meanwhile in the Crusader States of Syria–Palestine certainly there can be no doubt that the production of Crusader Art had resumed. The problem is that even though there was tremendous support for the Crusade effort in the Near East, and even though new Crusader Art was being commissioned in Cyprus and Constantinople along with Crusader Art in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Tripoli, and the Principality of Antioch, there is very little extant from this period that can be visually identified today. What happened to Crusader Art in those years, 1187 to 1205 and on to 1244?

Opposite: Detail from Riccardiana Psalter (see fig. 62)



MAP 6

THE CRUSADER STATES: 1187–1189

Rising from the Ashes: Crusader Art, 1187–1205

Following the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, much Crusader Art disappeared. Some art was taken down by the Muslims from their buildings on the Haram; a portion of that art was reused, as we have seen above. Some art was sold for the ransom Christians needed to pay for their freedom. Some art was buried for safekeeping. Some art was successfully taken from Jerusalem to places of safety, usually Tyre or Tripoli, by fleeing refugees. Some Crusader churches were left untouched, but many were turned into mosques. The inescapable fact is that much art was lost. And the question arises, could the Crusaders maintain their rich artistic tradition built up to such a remarkable and sophisticated point in the second half of the twelfth century? The fact is that Crusader Art changed dramatically in the period after 1187 because of the new political, military, religious, and economic circumstances of the Crusader States.

The new capital of the Latin Kingdom became Acre, because Jerusalem still remained in Muslim hands. Most Crusader religious and political institutions had transferred their headquarters there after the conquest in 1191. This meant that the Patriarch of Jerusalem now had his *cathedra* in the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre, along with the local bishop. The headquarters of the Hospitallers and the Templars, as well as the newly founded order of the Teutonic Knights, were located in Acre. Most religious orders moved their main establishments to the new capital city. The king started out living in Acre in 1191, but he was now crowned in Tyre, and after 1225 he no longer necessarily resided in the Latin Kingdom. The Hohenstaufen kings of Jerusalem lived in Western Europe; the later Lusignan kings mainly lived on Cyprus.

Nonetheless, Crusader Art continued. Among the important castles controlled by the Hospitallers, Margat (Marqab) just north of Tortosa on the coast in the principality of Antioch was one of the most formidable (fig. 46), so much so that when Saladin was marching his army up the coast in July 1188, he decided to bypass this fortification. Meanwhile, inside the castle it seems that a fresco project was underway at this time. The plan was to paint the apse end of the castle chapel (fig. 47), and the northeast Room – possibly the sacristy – was to receive a program of three New Testament scenes. The vault was given a Pentecost scene, with 12 apostles seated along the sloping sides (fig. 48). The west wall lunette was given a Nativity scene including the Three Magi, a typical eastern image. No scene survives on the east wall, but below the Apostles on the lower side walls are two sets of standing saints in arcades. These frescoes are Byzantinizing in form, continuing the Crusader style we have seen earlier in the Latin Kingdom. The main master

46. Margat (Marqab) Castle: general view from the west along the coast
Margat is the largest unexcavated Crusader castle in Syria. Beautifully sited on a promontory overlooking the Mediterranean Sea on the coast north of Tartus, it commands the coastal road between Tartus, Banyas (Valenia), and Latakia.

47. (above) **Margat Castle Chapel, exterior**
This chapel is only slightly larger than the one at Crac des Chevaliers, but it is constructed in black basalt, in contrast to the white limestone at Crac. Limestone is also used for the portals at Margat, which "spotlights" their presence on both the west and north sides. The masonry of the upper part of the west façade differs from that below, indicating it may have been rebuilt after earthquake damage at an undetermined time.

48. (right) **Margat Castle Chapel, northeast room, fresco: Apostles at the Pentecost (detail of the vault)**
The frescoes in the northeast room, which may have been used as a sacristy for this chapel, were discovered in the 1970s under a thick layer of plaster. The seated apostles here resemble the main ensemble of frescoes found farther east at the Syrian monastery of Mar Musa al Habashi done in 1192. This suggests that some local Christians may have worked for the Hospitallers on this project at Margat.

was probably an artist trained in the south and sent up to the castle by the Hospitallers where he was joined by local artists, who may have painted the standing saints.[3] What is evident is the fact that this program was begun in the northeast room, and then the plan was to paint the large apse as well. For some reason, however, the work was abruptly stopped; possibly because of Saladin's invasion in 1188, the apse only received its underpainted ornament in the dado zone. No finished fresco painting was found here. What is also evident is that this Crusader program is very comparable in its style and imagery to other projects carried out by local Christians in Syria. The most relevant example for Margat is the monastery church at Mar Musa al-Habashi, in Syria north of Damascus near Nebek, south of Homs.[4] These frescoes, dated to 1192, demonstrate a flourishing context of local Christian art which was being produced in Crusader- or Muslim-held territory during this period. It is a context where we would also expect to find manuscripts and icon painting that the Crusaders could have known and also commissioned.

During the Third Crusade the main well-known Crusader developments were architectural, and they were in some cases quite short-lived. Following the Crusader victory, the heavily damaged walls of Acre were rebuilt under Richard I's command. Meanwhile Richard was negotiating for the return of Crusader prisoners, a payment in compensation for the lives of the Muslim garrison at the moment of surrender, and the True Cross relic captured by Saladin at Hattin. Negotiations broke down in August 1191, and when Richard decided Saladin would not honor the terms of the surrender, he murdered several thousand Muslim prisoners in cold blood. For this Richard would never be forgotten in the Muslim world, and as an immediate result it is the likely reason that Saladin would never return the Hattin True Cross relic to the Crusaders.

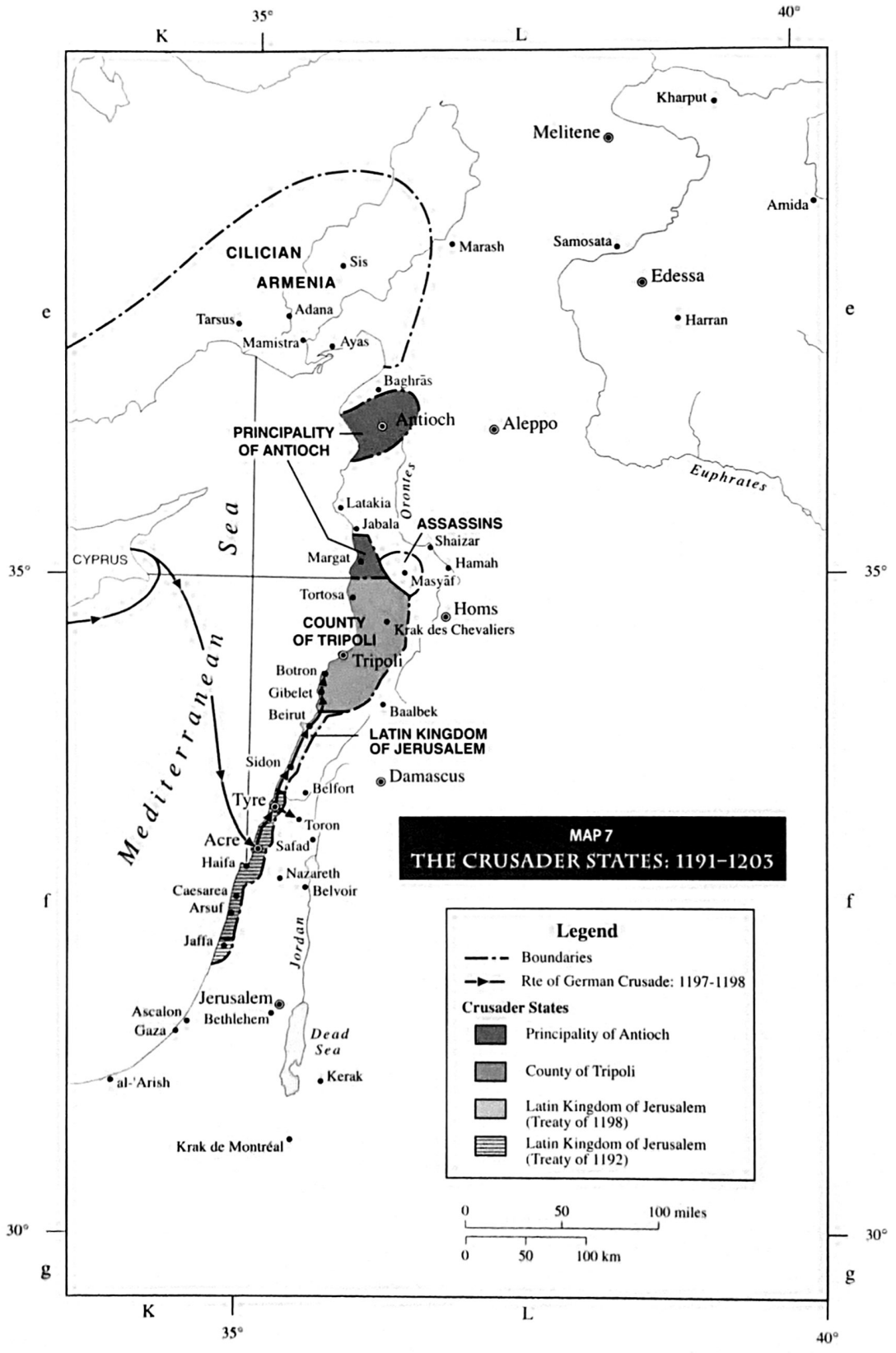
When Richard left Acre and started his march to the south, Saladin demolished the fortifications of the major cities along the way, including Caesarea, Jaffa, and Ascalon. At Ascalon, which had been totally razed, we know that Richard led the rebuilding effort and that he personally paid for much of the rebuilding. One of his men, Master Philippe, was the overseer responsible to the king for supervising the work. Richard's construction can be identified by "their narrow courses, smooth ashlar facing, brown or cream mortared rubble fill, and the use of antique marble or granite columns built through the walls."[5] It was, not surprisingly, more difficult and time-consuming to rebuild the walls than it had been to tear them down; the work went on for five months starting in January 1192.

It is well known that Richard failed to attack Jerusalem on this Crusade, and eventually he was forced to leave the Latin Kingdom because of pressing affairs at home in England. Before he left, he negotiated what is known as the Treaty of Jaffa, dated September 2, 1192 (Map 7). By this treaty the Crusaders held the territory of the Latin Kingdom from Acre to Jaffa; Christian pilgrims were allowed free access to the holy sites; commerce was protected. But Ascalon was returned to the Muslims, and its walls – so recently built up by the Crusaders – were immediately torn down, again! Such repeated construction and demolishment of fortifications was an ongoing characteristic of Crusader life in the Latin East. For this reason, despite the tremendous amount of architectural work being done by the Crusaders in these years, at certain sites almost none of what was done in this period, 1188–1244, can be identified as still standing.

Other features of Crusader life for Frankish residents in the Holy Land included the constant war-time circumstances, whether there was a Crusade expedition involved or not, and the need for commerce, hence the necessity of coinage. In the Latin Kingdom, Acre coinage at this time (1187–1192) paid special homage to the relic of the True Cross, with an anonymous royal issue featuring the True Cross hung with the pendant Alpha and Omega, symbolizing the universality of the message of Christ's cross for all time. Farther north, Bohemond of Antioch issued a new "star denier" in Tripoli, and at home in Antioch his father had introduced the long-lived "helmet denier" that lasted nearly a hundred years.[6]

Finally there is one other feature of Crusader life in the time of the Third Crusade that played an ever-increasing part in the Crusader States from 1191 on, the phenomenon of diplomacy. Diplomatic interaction is important for artistic consideration because it involved the exchange of gifts, and the pace of diplomatic interchange grew more intense as the years went by. For these gifts the Crusaders no doubt relied on treasuries of both wealthy nobles and ecclesiastics, as well as the resources of artistic workshops in the main cities, of which of course Acre was the capital city. Relics of the True Cross were certainly potent items of diplomatic exchange among Christians. The Hattin relic was never returned as we have seen, but other Relics of the True Cross had been given to Richard I by a local ecclesiastic as he contemplated his plan of action at Beit Nuba near Jerusalem, and we are told relics of the True Cross were placed on the altars of major churches in Acre by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Templars. There can be no doubt that relics were among the most potent and desirable gifts sought by the Crusaders. Various objects were made as diplomatic gifts to others the Crusaders were negotiating with, as we shall see.

Following the completion of the Third Crusade in the Holy Land, the Crusaders successfully reestablished the Latin Kingdom, the County of Tripoli, and the Principality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Antioch
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OF ANTIOCH
Euphrates
Orontes
Latakia
Jabala
ASSASSINS
Shaizar
Margat
Hamah
Masyāf
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Tortosa
Homs
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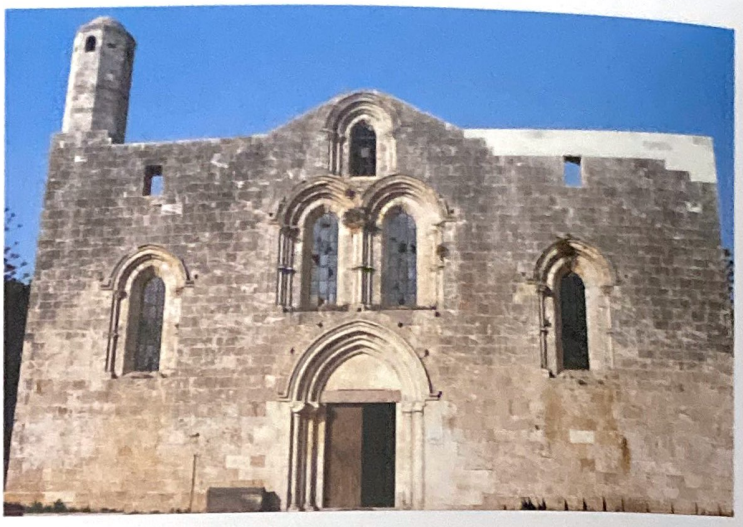
OF TRIPOLI
Krak des Chevaliers
Tripoli
Botron
Gibelet
Beirut
Baalbek
LATIN KINGDOM
OF JERUSALEM
Sidon
Damascus
Belfort
Tyre
Toron
Acre
Safad
Haifa
Nazareth
Belvoir
Caesarea
Arsuf
Jaffa
Jordan
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Gaza
Dead
Sea
Kerak
al-'Arish
Krak de Montréal
Mediterranean
e
f
g
35°
30°
MAP 7
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1191–1203
Legend
Boundaries
Rte of German Crusade: 1197-1198
Crusader States
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
(Treaty of 1198)
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
(Treaty of 1192)
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 km

49. Freiburg im Breisgau: Augustinermuseum, leaf with scenes of Christ and Zacchaeus (upper), and Sts. George and Theodore (lower) (32.2 x 20.0 cm)
The presence of the two unrelated images on this drawing indicates that they must be sketches by an artist, done in the years around 1200. Their style demonstrates the artist was German, but the imagery suggests he was traveling in the Holy Land where he could see frescoes at holy sites (the Christ and Zacchaeus scene from Jericho) and Crusader icons (Sts. George and Theodore as mounted warrior saints).

of Antioch in the Holy Land. Despite the failure to recapture the holy sites of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, commerce was flourishing and the major trading cities were growing, especially Acre, Tripoli, and Antioch. But the main holy places loomed very large among Crusader goals and a new attempt to recapture Jerusalem was launched in 1197, the German Crusade. Looked at in terms of artistic activity, there is very little to consider in that expedition other than the recapture of Sidon and Beirut in 1197. But one parchment leaf now in Freiburg im Breisgau can yield some fascinating information.

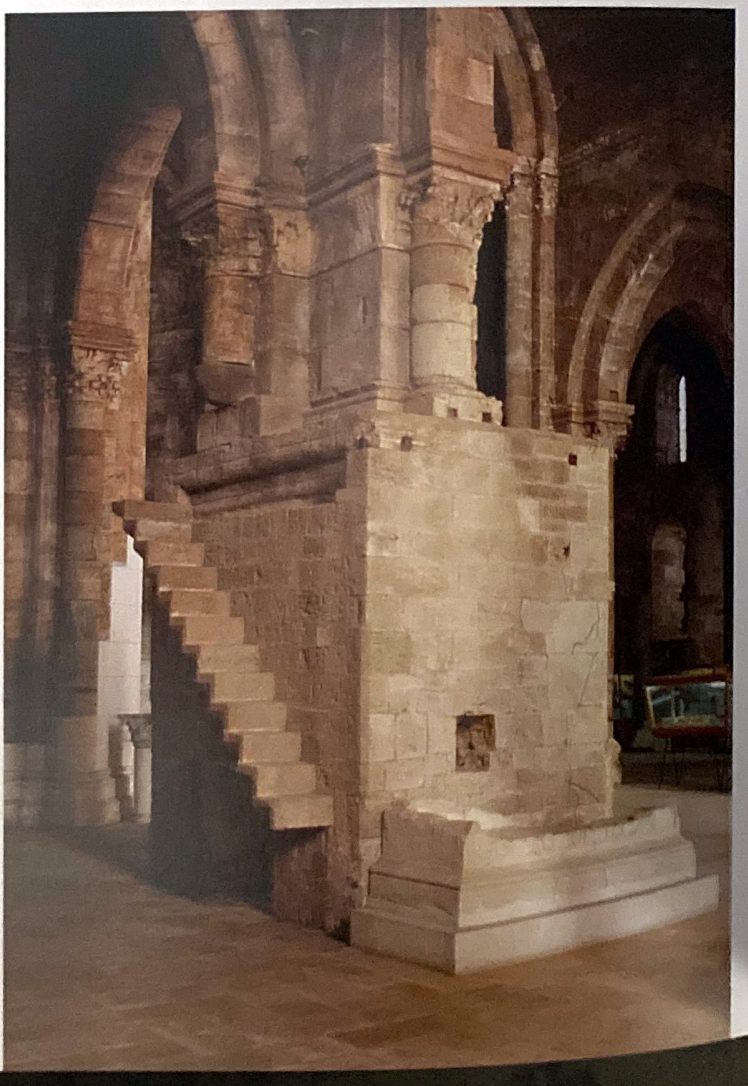
The so-called Freiburg Leaf contains two drawings: above the scene of Christ and Zacchaeus the publican from Luke 10: 1–19, below two mounted soldier saints, George and Theodore riding together (fig. 49). This curious pairing of scenes seems to owe its existence to the work of a German pilgrim traveling in Palestine about the time of the German Crusade, *c.* 1198–1200. These scenes appear to be the only surviving examples of drawings this pilgrim made while *en route* from Acre to the Jordan River, then up to Jerusalem and back. In Jericho he visited the house of Zacchaeus, a pilgrims' site mentioned in various accounts, where he might have seen a fresco on a wall of the house which he copied. In Jerusalem or Acre he also appears to have seen and copied a Crusader icon with these two saints. Why was what he saw a Crusader icon? The question is not simply because of the pairing but because the imagery of this pair is rare in Byzantine icons, and it includes special iconography such as the long western tunic worn by Theodore, the diadems worn by Crusader soldier saints, and the focus on the mounted soldier saint, an image especially favored by Crusader artists and patrons later in the thirteenth century as we shall see. No shrine survives today in Jericho with the Christ and Zacchaeus image, so this leaf serves as a precious reflection of what was there. No Crusader icon survives with mounted soldier saints this early, and there are only one or two other possible icons that might have been made by the Crusaders before 1200, but this image clearly indicates such paintings already existed.

Following the German Crusade it is the great earthquake in Syria in 1202 that had the biggest impact on the Crusader States, and especially on Crusader architecture. Major



50. (right) **Tortosa (Tartus), Cathedral of Notre Dame: west façade**
This façade reflects the combination of the Levantine Romanesque style employed when the church was started in the twelfth century, along with the Gothic details such as the hood mouldings, voussoirs, and colonnettes on the lancet windows, done when the church was finished in the 1220s. Modern restorations include repairs to the masonry along the upper right side, and the central main portal which has been completely replaced.

51. **Tortosa (Tartus), Cathedral of Notre Dame: pier with the Shrine of the Virgin:** (below left) **front;** (below right) **back**
The church at Tortosa housed a shrine to the Virgin Mary which claimed to be even older than the Church of St. Mary, Mt. Sion in Jerusalem, or the Shrine of the Annunciation in Nazareth. It was this shrine, located in the opening of this special pier, that the apostle Peter was said to have consecrated with his own hands. It became a very popular holy site among the Crusaders during the thirteenth century because of its accessibility. Jean de Joinville visited the shrine before he left the Holy Land with Louis IX in 1254.



churches and castles were damaged, some very seriously, and substantial rebuilding was undertaken. The Cathedral Church of Notre Dame in Tortosa, still unfinished, was repaired and its shrine to the Virgin had already become a major pilgrimage site by 1205 (figs. 50 and 51). Certainly the completion of the rest of the church with its new Gothic details must have been done by 1225.

Just east of Tortosa, at Crac des Chevaliers, an even larger and more ambitious program of building was undertaken in the ten or fifteen years after 1202. Not only was the inner castle repaired, but the walls on the west and south sides were given enormous taluses to protect against mining during siege operations (fig. 52). Furthermore, the castle was given an entire circuit of outer fortifications – curtain walls with round towers, making Crac the largest with the Crusader concentric plan (fig. 53). And from the fresco program of the repaired castle chapel, only one tiny scene of the Presentation of Christ survives, but it does give us an indication that, as we saw at Margat, the Hospitallers commissioned extensive decorations for their castle chapels.

52. (above) **Crac des Chevaliers Castle: talus on the southwest inner wall**
These great talus or glacis constructions were added to the defenses of the inner fortifications at Crac after the earthquake of 1202, along with the round tower configurations. Their enormous size and the strength of their masonry were designed to deter any attempt to mine the walls during a siege.

53. (left) **Crac des Chevaliers Castle: exterior view from the southwest**
This famous view of Crac illustrates the latest phase of the Crusader castle with its outer walls added in the early thirteenth century. With this campaign of building, the castle was given a fully concentric configuration, comparable to the concentric walls also found at Belvoir. Unlike Belvoir, however, with its *castrum* inside a *castrum* design and its twelfth-century rectangular towers, Crac was given a whole new set of round towers. This view also shows the arches of an aqueduct and the large rectangular exterior tower built by the Mamluks after 1271.

54. Missal (Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, MS VI G 11): *Maestas Domini*, fol. 97r (19.4 x 12.8 cm)
This handsome image is the earliest extant Crusader *Maestas* example but it reflects a long tradition in the West going back to Carolingian manuscript illumination. Here the Crusader artist has captured the *gravitas* of the Byzantine *Pantokrator* combined with a lively western color scheme. The placement of the evangelist symbols – Matthew, John, Mark, Luke – read left to right, top to bottom, is the standard configuration in Crusader painting.

The fact is that, following 1202, architecture in the Crusader States was flourishing, which brings to mind what the famous Crusader historian, Sir Steven Runciman, observed years ago,

> The slightness of the [artistic] evidence should not be interpreted to mean that little was done. If architecture flourished, it is likely that the other arts flourished also, and gave the same reflection of life in Outremer.[7]

This certainly is the case in these years from 1191 into the early thirteenth century with Crusader Art.

When it comes to painting and the figural arts, the extant artistic evidence is indeed slight. We have, in addition to the Freiburg Leaf, only one major manuscript that survives from about 1200. It is important because it seems to indicate the revival of the main scriptorium transferred from Jerusalem to Acre in 1187, in its new location in the Church of the Holy Cross. The manuscript is an illustrated missal, the basic service book for celebrating mass during the liturgical year. It is preserved in the National Library in Naples, MS VI.G.II.[8] Its main decoration includes a very damaged crucifixion, and an impressive image of the *Maestas Domini*, that is, the enthroned Christ in a mandorla, surrounded by the four evangelist symbols (fig. 54). Basically the style continues the earlier twelfth-century Crusader painting seen in the Melisende Psalter and later gospel books, but is here done by an excellent if somewhat provincial Crusader artist with Italian ancestry. As a Crusader work it combines the Italianate and Byzantinizing character of its figure style with western imagery and composition and with a repertoire of Jerusalem ornament given exciting new colorism, as compared to earlier codices.

Remarkably this image of Christ Enthroned blessing in Italo-Byzantine Crusader style is comparable to an intriguing icon of Christ enthroned blessing in eastern style that is now in the collection at St. Catherine's, Mt. Sinai[9] (fig. 55). The artist of this icon, who seems to be Coptic, may have been working for a Crusader patron. Important formal differences distinguish his work from the *Maestas* Christ, including the Near Eastern facial features and the style of the drapery with strong fluid black outlines and bold, geometrically patterned folds. The western blessing gesture,

55. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: icon of Christ enthroned blessing (28.5 x 16.2 cm)
This remarkable icon is one of the most "Orientalizing" in style of any Crusader icon. It was probably done by a Coptic (?) painter for a Crusader patron in a Byzantino-Coptic Crusader style in the early thirteenth century. The eastern characteristics can be clearly seen in the facial type of Christ, the colorism of his garments, the ornamental decoration of this throne combined with a bold interlace design found on other Crusader icons from Sinai. The strong ornamental tradition in Crusader painting is evident all through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

56. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: icon of the Maestas Domini (21.1 x 13.9 cm)
In strong contrast to the icon of Christ enthroned blessing, this icon is one of the most "Gothic" in style of any Crusader icon. It reflects the work of an artist who has been steeped in the tradition of the Moralized Bibles in imagery and color palette. But the drapery style and highlighting is Crusader as is the use of eastern ornament such as the *çintamani* on the tunic of Christ, and especially on the robe of the figure of St. Matthew's winged man at the upper left.

open book, and the frontal panel of the throne are equally distinctive. This icon, which has been dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, also has a large interlace frame design which finds a parallel in another icon with a similar, if not identical border.

There is also a second icon in which we find another version of the *Maestas Domini* with an enthroned Christ (fig. 56). In this case the main image is entirely done in a French Gothic design that seems related to the style of the Moralized Bibles in Paris in the 1220s and later.[10] It may be that the icon was originally done somewhat earlier, *c.* 1200, when the interlace border was executed, and then the *Maestas Domini* image was repainted over the original image, replacing what may have been an earlier version of the same composition, something resembling the image in the Naples Missal. Perhaps this artist was a mostly western-trained and very provincial Crusader painter who was a pilgrim and who donated this icon to the monastery during his visit. The icon image seems to be later, perhaps in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, closely comparable to the emerging French Gothic style in painting, but done in the medium of icon painting so foreign at that time to France. The notion of the interlace border possibly being earlier than the central icon image is an important issue. The repainting of icons is a well-known phenomenon, and is an aspect of the study of these panel paintings that may yield more evidence for the identification of other Crusader icons. The imagery of the Enthroned Christ, whether part of the *Maestas Domini* iconography or not, is also important and the development in the imagery and the uniquely Crusader union of eastern and western features demonstrates the strength of the Crusader tradition, even as the art exhibits links with various new traditions.

The evidence of metalwork further expands our picture of Crusader production at this time. Excavations in 1982 at Resafa-Sergiopolis in central Syria, east of Aleppo discovered a hoard of silver, including two remarkable objects: a liturgical chalice and a broad-mouthed cup decorated with French heraldic shields.[11] The chalice epitomizes the nature of Crusader Art: its shape is Western European, it has Byzantine-style engraved decoration on its exterior, including a medallion with the Christ Pantokrator identified with

Greek inscriptions, and on the exterior of the lip of the bowl and around the foot are niello defined inscriptions in Syriac. This appears to be a Crusader work that could have been sold at the time of the evacuation of Jerusalem in 1187. It is a work that was apparently personalized later with the Syriac inscriptions and given to a Christian church in Resafa, where it might have been buried for safekeeping during the invasion of the Khwarismian Turks in the 1240s. By contrast the wine cup, a *Wappenpokal* in German, is a secular work probably originally done in France (fig. 57). It may have been carried out to the Holy Land by someone on the Third Crusade after which time it was given engraved heraldry of certain nobles known from the period *c.* 1195 to 1223. At that point the cup came into the hands of an Arab Christian who added an Arabic inscription on it and later gave it to the church in Resafa where the chalice was located as well. These are hypothetical interpretations to be sure. But the facts are that we have a liturgical chalice that reflects in its own way the characteristics found in other Crusader Art from Jerusalem in the later twelfth century, and we have a secular wine cup decorated with French heraldry – a very early appearance of heraldic arms on surviving Crusader metalwork – that appears to have been brought from France to the Holy Land where it enters the artistic world of the Crusaders. So the evidence shows that religious Crusader Art is continuing in a number of media, and new secular art for the Crusader nobility appears that will become more and more important. Shortly after 1250 we will begin to see the impressive growth of secular art in book illustration as well.

57. Resafa Silver Treasure, *Wappenpokal*: interior view (Madrid, German Archaeological Institute) (diameter: 16.1 cm)
This wine cup is the most important piece of secular metalwork found in the Crusader East. It appears to have been brought from Western Europe probably during the Third Crusade. The arms engraved in its interior are mostly those of French aristocrats datable to the years between 1193 and 1223. Sometime after 1223, the vessel came into the hands of an Arab Christian woman who had a commemorative inscription in Arabic placed on the outer lip of the cup. It was she who apparently gave it to a church in Sergiopolis-Resafa.

Compared to the artistic evidence we have associated with the Third Crusade and the German Crusade, the Fourth Crusade is best known for the flood of booty taken from Constantinople that was sent to Western Europe following its conquest of the great city. As Jonathan Riley-Smith described it, "the sack of Constantinople was a massive *furtum sacrum*, made against the background of the hysteria that had swept Western Europe following the loss of the relic of the True Cross at the Battle of Hattin in 1187".[12] This art appeared in the form of precious gold and silver objects, including reliquaries, liturgical vessels and books with treasure bindings. Furthermore, the Fourth Crusade did not continue on to the Holy Land as originally planned; basically it ended in Constantinople. And although the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople at first appeared to strengthen the Crusader position in the Near East overall, the hope being that the new Crusader Empire would be a strong ally and powerful source of economic and logistical support to aid the Holy Land, such was not to be the long-term reality. Indeed, viewed from farther east in Acre, the Latin Empire of Constantinople rapidly

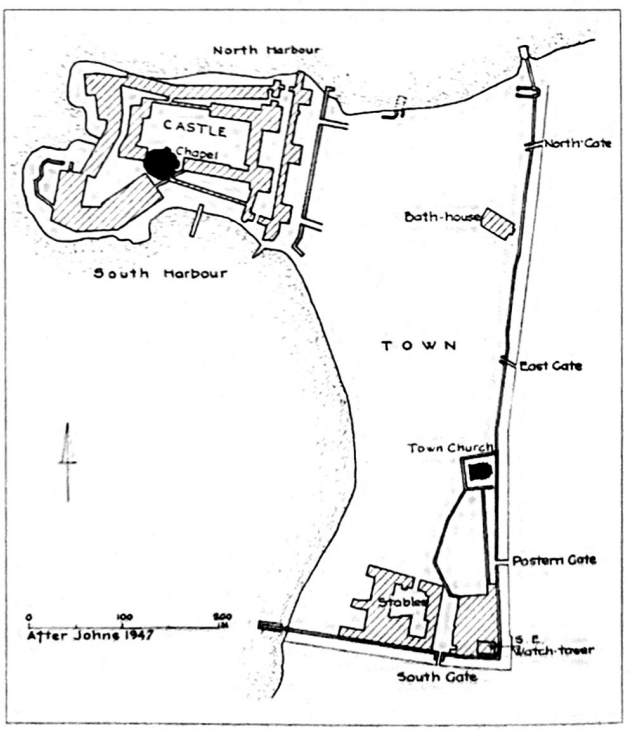
became an increasingly needy poor cousin to the Latin Kingdom, and to Lusignan Cyprus, draining potential financial, political, and military resources away from the Holy Land and from Cyprus, by its own needs and problems. This is even symbolized in an irony of later history by which the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, who reigned in Acre from 1210 to 1225, later became the Latin co-Emperor of Constantinople, from 1231 to 1237. And it is only much later, in the 1240s, that Crusader Constantinople made a signal artistic contribution to the Latin Kingdom, as we shall see.

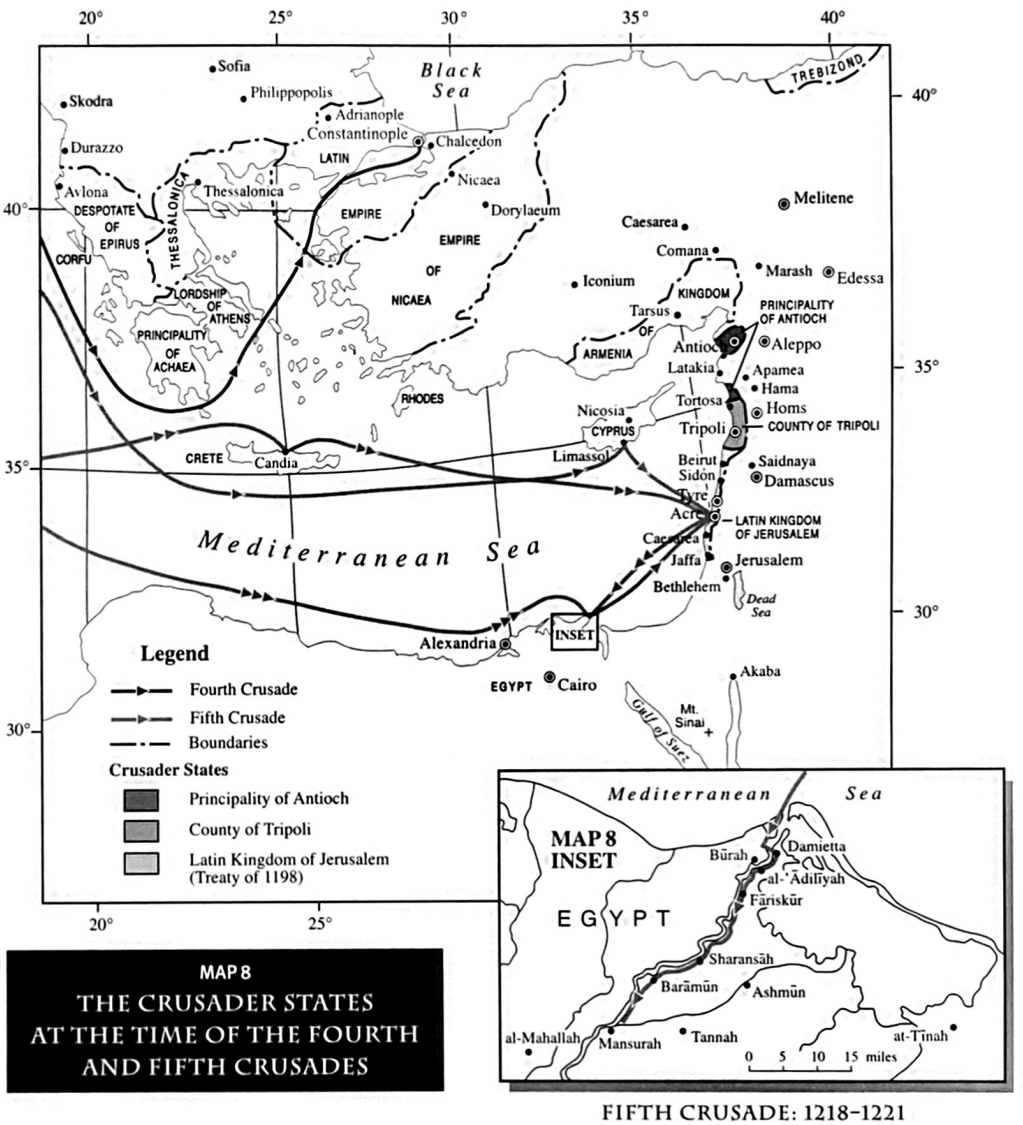
Art in the Latin Kingdom, 1210–1225

Besides these three Crusade expeditions in 1191, 1197 and 1204, something else the West sent to the Latin East – something much more successful than the Fourth Crusade – was a new king. John of Brienne arrived from Champagne as the choice of King Philip II Augustus; he was crowned at Tyre on October 2, 1210. King John lived in Acre and when he arrived, the repairs and rebuilding of the city walls from after the Third Crusade and the earthquake of 1202 must have been long since completed. But Acre had expanded to the north in a suburb called Montmusard. A western pilgrim named Wilbrand of Oldenburg, writing in 1212, suggests that this part of the city had recently been given new walled fortification and it may have been King John who was responsible for this project.[13] King John was certainly responsible for appealing to the pope to call a new Crusade. Pope Innocent III issued the call for a new crusade, the Fifth Crusade, at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215[14] (Map 8).

Several rulers took the cross, including King Andrew of Hungary and Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen. Some Crusaders arrived early, as one of the chroniclers, Oliver of Paderborn described it. To take advantage of this manpower while awaiting the rest of the army, a Fleming, Walter of Avesnes, and his men accompanied by Templars and Teutonic Knights marched south in the winter of 1217–1218 and built the great castle at 'Atlit, "Chastel Pelerin," on a strategic promontory south of Haifa (fig. 58). Defended by the sea on three sides, the castle featured a massive eastern wall that was never breached by a frontal assault. It was given to the Templars and became famous as their greatest fortress outside of Acre, distinguished by having a beautiful polygonal chapel with Gothic rib vaulting surrounding a central pier. At 'Atlit, after the castle was built, a town also grew up just south of the main eastern wall, which also had a small but handsome Crusader church built somewhat later. The town received its walls probably after 1225, but already it

58. Chastel Pelerin Castle at 'Atlit: plan
This was the most important Templar castle outside of their headquarters at Acre. The plan shows the heavy fortifications along with the walled town which no doubt provided some of the service personnel for the castle and for visiting pilgrims. As the evidence stands now it appears the handsome town church was built in the 1230s or 1240s, with refined Gothic features. The distinctive centralized castle chapel was apparently rebuilt in its polygonal form in the mid-thirteenth century, one of two Templar examples, the other being found at Safed. The relics of St. Euphemia, which attracted many pilgrims to 'Atlit, were located in this castle chapel.





MAP 8
THE CRUSADER STATES AT THE TIME OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES

FIFTH CRUSADE: 1218–1221

had an important Crusader cemetery and 'Atlit had become a center for the production of Crusader pottery.

When western pilgrims to the Holy Land describe their travels in this period, they mention a number of pilgrimage destinations that are new in the thirteenth century due to the loss of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. The castle chapel 'Atlit, which contained the relics of St. Euphemia, was one of these places.[15] This was a 'new' holy site which pilgrims could visit along the coast, along with the Virgin's shrine at Tortosa. The venerable sixth-century monastery of St. Catherine at the foot of Mount Sinai was another major site that became very popular in the thirteenth century, the place of the Burning Bush. Thietmar, a German traveling in 1217 as a Crusader pilgrim, visits St. Catherine's where he

sees a "golden bush" in the Chapel of the Burning Bush, accompanied by images of the Lord and Moses.[16] The trip to Mt. Sinai was long and arduous, but many pilgrims made it. The artistic evidence for this is over one hundred Crusader thirteenth-century icons in the collection of the Monastery, most presumably commissioned for and deposited there by Crusader pilgrims. Some pilgrims also decided to go to Jerusalem to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Pope Gregory VIII in 1187 had forbidden pilgrims to visit Jerusalem while it was in Muslim hands, but such visits were possible by making special arrangements and paying a fee. Nonetheless pilgrims were not free to roam at will, and they reported limited time and limited access during their visits. Wilbrand of Oldenburg went to the Holy Sepulchre in 1212. He reports seeing four Syrian Orthodox clergy who had been given charge of the Holy Sites there. From Jerusalem he was allowed to go to the site of Christ's Baptism on the banks of the Jordan River, but he was not allowed to go to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Arbitrary limitations and fees such as he experienced continued to fuel Crusader efforts to liberate the three main Holy Sites again from Muslim control.

When the Fifth Crusade was finally ready with the army assembled in Acre, they sailed to the coast of Egypt and attacked the city of Damietta, starting on August 17, 1218. It was the first Crusader expedition to actually carry out the new "Egyptian strategy" that had originated in the late twelfth century. The idea was to attack Egypt, capture Cairo, home of the Ayyubid sultan, and then take Jerusalem easily after the fall of the Muslim capital. At Damietta in 1218, however, the siege was a long-drawn-out affair. The Crusader army featured a striking array of contingents demonstrating the diversity of their origins – aspects we have seen reflected in Crusader Art in various ways – and the usual problems of establishing a chain of command. There were at one time or other Hungarians, Germans, Flemish, Frisians, French, Austrians, Pisans, Genoese, Romans, and Franks from the Holy Land including the Hospitallers, Templars and the Teutonic Knights. There were also various strong leaders in the army attempting to take charge, such as Duke Leopold of Austria, Cardinal Pelagius, and King John of Jerusalem. Eventually the Crusade did manage to capture the city, but only 15 months later, on November 4, 1219. The Crusade was unfortunately an object lesson in all the basic problems these expeditions suffered in the field, but during the siege of Damietta, two remarkable events took place that would have ramifications for the Crusaders and their art later in the thirteenth century.

First, in late July of 1219, Francis of Assisi arrived in the Crusader camp outside Damietta.[17] Declaring that this Crusade would fail in its attack, Francis insisted on a face-to-face discussion with the Muslim commander, Sultan al-Kamil. Undeterred by the warnings of Cardinal Pelagius, he proposed to win the day by converting the Sultan to Christianity. Al-Kamil allowed Francis to present arguments in his own tent, and then after politely refusing any further blandishments, had him escorted under safe conduct back to the Christian camp. Thus Francis symbolically began what later in the thirteenth century became a concerted effort by Christianity to convert Muslim Near Easterners and eventually Far Eastern Nestorians and non-Christians to the faith. After the death of Francis, his new order, the Franciscans, joined by other new orders, the Dominicans and the Carmelites, made these efforts at the behest of the pope and various Christian rulers. In the second half of the century it was especially the Mongols who were targeted in an effort to make Christianity the dominant world religion. As we shall see later, missionaries were sent to preach the Word of Christ and to present works of religious art, some of which must have been Crusader Art, for the education and admiration of their audiences.

The other remarkable event during the siege of Damietta had to do with a truce, the complete terms of which Sultan al-Kamil offered to the Crusaders just after Francis's visit. These terms were truly amazing, an indication of just how vulnerable the Muslims felt themselves to be at that moment, unknown to the Crusaders. They included the following: the relic of the True Cross captured at Hattin would be returned to the Crusaders; recently captured Crusader castles at Belvoir, Safed, and Toron would be returned and could be refortified, and Jerusalem – the Holy City itself! – would be returned to the Crusaders. For their part the Crusaders were to end the attack on Damietta and evacu-

ate Egypt immediately. The truce was proposed for the extraordinary length of time of 30 years. Truces had, of course, been negotiated between the Crusaders and the Muslims since the late twelfth century, but never before was such an amazing offer made by a Muslim leader. And perhaps the most incredible part of this offer was the fact that al-Kamil included in this package his promise *to pay the Crusaders for the cost of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem* when they took it back, the same walls that al-Kamil's brother, the Emir al-Mu'azzam, had dismantled in mid-March 1219, fearing a Crusader victory at Damietta.[18] Unbelieveably, Cardinal Pelagius and his faction among the Crusaders would not accept this offer. Nothing King John of Brienne could do would change their mind, so he returned to Acre in frustration. Some Crusaders refused apparently because they thought total victory was at hand and the Muslims were trying to ward off the inevitable. The offer was eventually rejected, and the result, as we know, was that the Fifth Crusade eventually completely failed after its defeat at Mansurah in August of 1221. By that time this offer had long since been withdrawn and the Crusaders had had to accept a surrender agreement from al-Kamil, with – still remarkably generous – an eight-year truce, including full Crusader evacuation and exchange of prisoners. Ironically, as it turned out, the Crusaders would in fact only recover Jerusalem by negotiating another truce, but it was a truce arranged by an excommunicated "Crusader" eight years later, in the winter of 1229.

The excommunicated "Crusader" was, of course, Frederick II, who, having been crowned Holy Roman Emperor finally on November 22, 1220, never did take part in the Fifth Crusade despite having taken the cross in 1215, a year before Pope Innocent III died. When, despite repeated promises to go East, and taking the cross a second time following his imperial crowning, he still had not left *twelve years* later, the new pope, Gregory IX, excommunicated him on September 29, 1227. The stage was set for the playing out of an extraordinary drama, one which would have the most dire consequences for the Crusader States and both positive and negative results for Crusader Art.

Art in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1225–1244

The first act of this play took place when Frederick II married Isabel II of Brienne, Queen of Jerusalem, daughter of King John, in Brindisi on November 9, 1225. With this union, John's role as king and regent for the heir to the crown was terminated, and Frederick II became King of Jerusalem. Isabel, sadly, died following the birth of their son and heir, Conrad, in May 1228, but the crown of the Latin Kingdom was now in the hands of the Hohenstaufens until 1268.

The next important development concerned the new Crusade that was underway. The first contingents had sailed to Acre in the fall of 1227. Again, as in 1217, not finding their commander yet arrived, the French, English, and Spanish soldiers marched north to Sidon and began building what we know as the "Sea Castle" in the mouth of the harbor. A separate contingent of German soldiers went into the hills northeast of Acre and helped the Teutonic Knights to start building Montfort, their new headquarters, known as "Starkenburg" in German. Montfort in particular is an important site for handsome Crusader architectural sculpture, examples of which are preserved at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem and the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 59). Excavations there also found the only surviving Crusader icon discovered in the territory formerly part of the Latin Kingdom, besides those found at St. Catherine's Monastery[19] (fig. 60). Actually it is a fragment of an icon; it is the bottom 2.5 cm strip only of a panel that once probably had depictions of an archangel and perhaps St. John the Baptist, judging from the extant portion. Other fragmentary paintings were also found, such as a golden *fleur-de-lys* on a rib voussoir, also preserved today at the Met (fig. 61).

When Frederick II finally sailed for the Holy Land in June 1228, while still excommunicated, his purposes were clear. He was, of course, honoring his vow to go on Crusade as its major commander, but more importantly he was going to the Latin East to claim the Hohenstaufen legal rights as resident ruler of the Latin Kingdom. Accordingly, his first stop was in Cyprus. At a banquet in Limassol he demanded recognition as King of Cyprus and Lord of Beirut, from

John of Ibelin, by force. John of Ibelin could not be cowed and as the historian John LaMonte has written, "Prior to this time, John had been at most an important baron in an unimportant kingdom; thereafter, as the defender of the baronial liberties against imperial aggression, he became a figure of international significance."[20] Frederick's attempt to claim his suzerain right as King of Cyprus was successful, but his high-handed attempts to take control of the lordships of Beirut, of Tripoli and of Antioch did not succeed.

On September 3, 1228 Frederick sailed to Tyre, and then entered Acre, where he was received with honor. But the clergy would not render him the "kiss of peace". Furthermore when he attempted to organize the Crusaders for action, the Hospitallers and the Templars refused to recognize his command, because of his excommunication. Only his German soldiers, the Teutonic Knights, and the Genoese would follow his orders. Seeing the situation, Frederick II sent messengers to Sultan al-Kamil renewing their discussions for a treaty, discussions that had been underway off and on since 1226. After several months of negotiations, a treaty was successfully concluded on February 18, 1229. The basic terms of this remarkable treaty included the following:

1. the city of Jerusalem was handed over to the Emperor except for the Haram al-Sharif, which was reserved for the Muslims. Jerusalem would remain defenseless and unfortified.
2. the city of Bethlehem and the villages between it and Jerusalem were restored to the Emperor.
3. the city of Nazareth and the villages between it and Acre were restored to the Emperor.
4. St. George (Lydda) and the villages between it and Jerusalem were restored to the Emperor.
5. the Emperor was to remain neutral in any war which was waged against the Sultan.

59. (above) **Montfort (Starkenberg) Castle: sculptured boss from rib vaulting, found in the 1926 excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art**

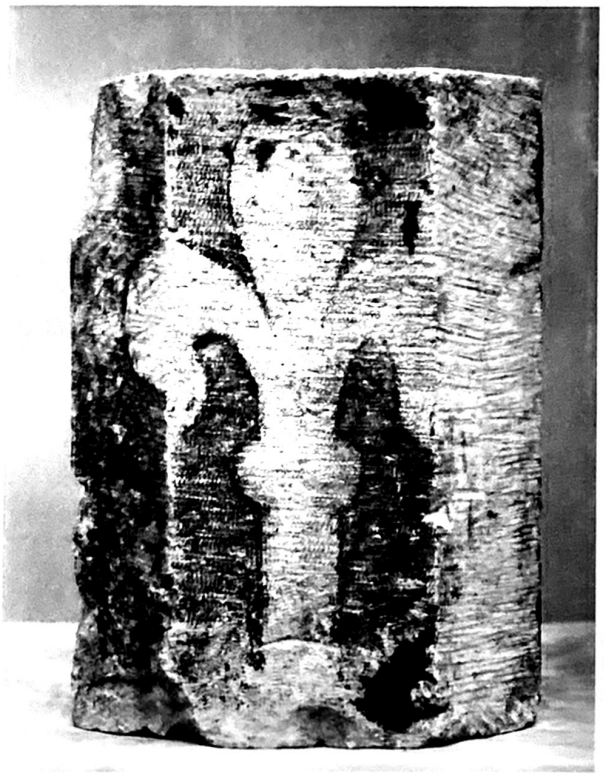
This handsome rib boss features a deeply undercut and fleshy foliate style, somewhat abstract yet naturalistic, that is boldly carved in large scale to function effectively at the top of a vaulted hall in the Castle of Montfort. The central motif is an equal-armed cross, which must have been doubly striking when polychromed and seen with its surrounding leafy "halo."

60. (below) **Montfort (Starkenberg) Castle: icon fragment, found in the 1926 excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (length: 24.7 cm)**

This tiny fragment, only 2.5 cm high, is very precious because it is the only evidence for panel painting found *in situ* in a Crusader castle site. By comparison with the numerous examples known from the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, the details of the feet and footware suggest this very likely was a small devotional icon of St. John the Baptist at the left, with an archangel at the right, wearing the imperial red-purple buskins decorated with pearls.

This treaty included a truce which was to last for 10 years, 5 months, and 40 days.[21]

So it means that an excommunicated Emperor, who was now also King of Jerusalem, was able by treaty to achieve what no other Crusade or Crusader could accomplish since 1187, the recovery of the three major dominical holy sites which would by terms of the treaty be freely open for Christian access (Map 9).



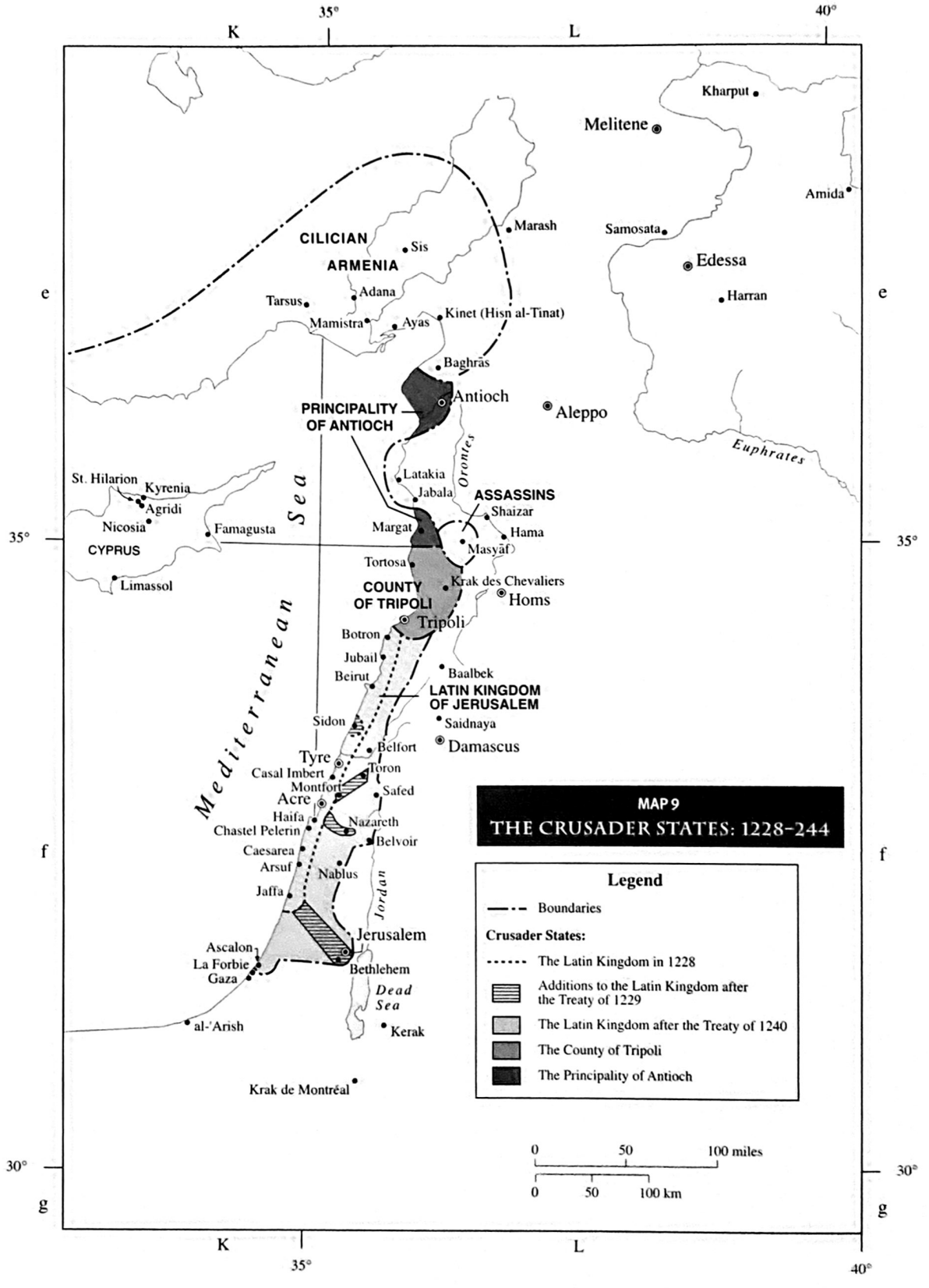
61. Montfort (Starkenberg) Castle: rib voussoir painted with gold *fleur-de-lys*, found in the 1926 excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art

The excavation at Montfort by Bashford Dean in 1926 found many interesting *objets* in a room identified as the castle chapel. Among the finds are fragments of stained glass, material also discovered at the 'Atlit town church site, and this voussoir. It is a unique survival of a polychromed rib with the gold *fleur-de-lys* pattern, showing the widespread popularity of this design. It is a striking if modest Crusader parallel to the dazzling interior polychromy being given to the Sainte Chapelle in Paris during the 1240s.

The third phase of this drama, was quite extraordinary as well. On March 17, 1229 Frederick had arranged and staged his entrance into Jerusalem to take control under the terms of the treaty. Meanwhile, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold, learning of the treaty was enraged with the terms and the fact that Frederick had treated with the infidel Muslims as equals. He ordered the Bishop of Caesarea, Peter, to place the city of Jerusalem under an interdict, an ecclesiastical fiat forbidding all Christians to enter and disallowing any liturgical services inside the city. But he was too late. The interdict was issued on March 19. But by then Frederick II had come to Jerusalem, gone to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on March 18, and worn his imperial crown. In fact he was not the king, but regent for the king, who was Conrad his infant son. Nonetheless the Hohenstaufen claim as king of Jerusalem was duly executed on Conrad's behalf. When the interdict arrived, he and his soldiers left for the coast.

Returning to Acre, Frederick quickly organized his representatives, his *baillis*, for the Latin Kingdom and for Cyprus to serve in his absence, and prepared to leave. On May 1, 1229, Frederick II left Acre with people openly expressing their disapproval by throwing garbage and dung at him as he made his way to the harbor. He sailed to Cyprus, and then home where he arrived in Brindisi on June 10, to find that his father-in-law, John of Brienne, was leading a papal army against Imperial forces in Sicily.

The final part of the drama, and in some ways the most devastating legacy of Emperor Frederick II in the Crusader States both in Syria–Palestine and on Cyprus, was a long and difficult civil war. It was in effect, *mutatis mutandis*, a reflection of the Guelf–Ghibelline conflict raging in Italy to the Near East with the Emperor's men – the imperialists – fighting the local barons, the Ibelins, especially John of Ibelin and his allies. The so-called "Lombard War" in the Latin East went on from 1229 until Frederick's imperial representatives were finally defeated at Tyre in 1243. What Crusader Art was produced in the midst of this turmoil? What impact, if any, did Frederick II himself have on the production of Crusader Art during his year in the East and after he left? Can we discern any important German artistic characteristics in the art of the Crusaders during this period?


35°
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Melitene
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CILICIAN
ARMENIA
Sis
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Mamistra
Ayas
Kinet (Hisn al-Tinat)
Baghras
Antioch
Aleppo
PRINCIPALITY
OF ANTIOCH
Euphrates
Orontes
Latakia
Jabala
ASSASSINS
Shaizar
Hama
Masyāf
Margat
St. Hilarion
Kyrenia
Agridi
Nicosia
Famagusta
CYPRUS
Sea
Limassol
Tortosa
Krak des Chevaliers
COUNTY
OF TRIPOLI
Homs
Tripoli
Botron
Jubail
Beirut
Baalbek
LATIN KINGDOM
OF JERUSALEM
Saidnaya
Sidon
Damascus
Belfort
Tyre
Toron
Casal Imbert
Montfort
Safed
Acre
Haifa
Nazareth
Chastel Pelerin
Belvoir
Caesarea
Arsuf
Nablus
Jaffa
Jordan
Jerusalem
Ascalon
La Forbie
Gaza
Bethlehem
Dead
Sea
Kerak
al-'Arish
Krak de Montréal
Mediterranean
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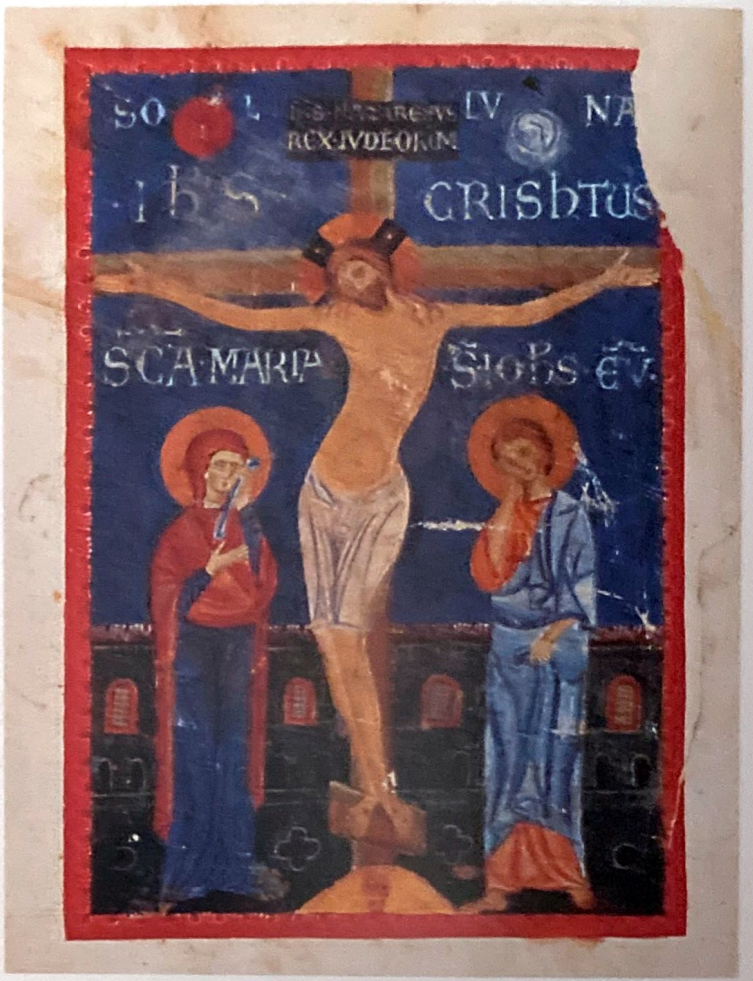
30°
MAP 9
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1228–244
Legend
Boundaries
Crusader States:
The Latin Kingdom in 1228
Additions to the Latin Kingdom after the Treaty of 1229
The Latin Kingdom after the Treaty of 1240
The County of Tripoli
The Principality of Antioch
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 km

62. Riccardiana Psalter (Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, MS 323): fol. 36r, Adoration of the Magi at Bethlehem (5.8 x 5.6 cm)
This representation reminds us of the earlier Crusader versions we have seen, but it is different in several interesting aspects. The Magi approach from the left instead of the right as is customary. They wear "easternized" headdresses, but western costumes, and their gifts are globular metalwork containers. The Virgin and Child sit enthroned in a cave, clearly a reference to the Cave Grotto at Bethlehem, which is characteristic Crusader iconography. This unique combination of eastern and western features along with the Italo-Byzantine-inspired style clearly indicates the Crusader characteristics of this miniature.

The answer to the second question is problematic. There is very little figural art that can be identified as Crusader in this period from 1225 to 1243. Nothing specifically linked to Emperor Frederick commissioned in the Holy Land is known. There is one major luxury prayerbook extant that has in the past been proposed as having been linked to the patronage of the Emperor.[22] It is the Riccardiana Psalter (Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, MS 323) (fig. 62). Now it is thought to have been possibly commissioned as a wedding gift to Queen Isabel II of Brienne in 1225.[23] The Sicilian–Byzantine Crusader style of its eight historiated initials and headpiece miniatures with the life of Christ on lustrous gold grounds evokes the Crusader East, not only by the typically multicultural Crusader program of the images, with German, Italian, and Byzantine aspects, but also by direct references to the Holy Sites, such as the cave grotto at Bethlehem in the image of the Three Magi. But who is the patron? If the book were done for Isabel in Acre, as seems likely, it is more probable that Isabel's father, John of Brienne, would have commissioned it as a gift for his daughter, than Frederick or one of his representatives.

There is a second codex, a Sacramentary, now in the British Library (London, British Library, Egerton MS 2902), that seems to have also been done in Acre sometime between 1225 and 1239 (fig. 63). It was possibly done for the Patriarch, Gerold, judging from the entries in its calendar. The Crucifixion page at the start of the canon of the mass has striking color, very different from the Riccardiana Psalter, but the Crusader Artist here must also be someone of Italian ancestry. The odd spelling of Christ's name, "Crishtus", above the cross is puzzling; the style of the artist is somewhat flat and lifeless, but the outlines of the Christ figure are quite graceful. The strong color is eye-catching, but the overlarge inscriptions produce a curious effect. This artist is certainly different from the painter in the Riccardiana Psalter, but both seem to have strong Italian connections in their artistic training. The German influence that we might expect from the presence of the Holy Roman Emperor and his men is mostly lacking, or slight at best; the Italian aspect which was also reinforced through some of his troops and personal representatives in the Latin East seems to be reflected here somewhat more.



63. Egerton Sacramentary (London, British Library, Egerton MS 2902): fol. 14v, Crucifixion (20.7 x 13.7 cm)
This image in a Latin service book is very different from the accomplished work done by the painter of the Riccardiana Psalter, which was done as a private luxury prayerbook. This Crusader artist seems to be someone of Italian ancestry, or perhaps even an easterner, who appears to be imitating a Limoges enamel, but has employed oversized Latin inscriptions. It is odd to have Christ's name spelled this way and unusual to have "Sol" and "Luna" indicated at all. The three-storey wall, two stories of which are pierced with windows as part of the background, is also unique in Crusader imagery.

A third manuscript, the Pontifical of Apamea, was probably done by the same scribe, and both the Sacramentary and the Pontifical appear to have been done in the same scriptorium, the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre now relocated in Acre. The Pontifical only has one illustration, a bust-length image of a bishop wearing the pallium (fig. 64), but, modest as it is, its luminous gold and wonderful rich color evoke the distinctive Levantine character of Crusader painting.

By comparison to the manuscripts, the new Crusader medium of painted icons seems to be not only developing, but also diversifying. Two bust-length angels show the work of two different Crusader artists under the influence of contemporary Byzantine art seen in the fresco paintings of the Church of the Ascension at Milesevo, in Serbia, in 1230.[24] The facial types are strikingly similar, but identifiable Crusader aspects can be seen in the enlarged heads, the technique of tooling the halo of Gabriel, or the simulated brocade on the jeweled sleeve of the figure of Michael. Angels of this type might have been part of a Deësis group[25] with Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist, as sanctuary decorations if they were made to be hung in a Latin church or chapel.

A more problematic example in terms of its dating, but a very interesting and challenging image, is the icon of two mounted soldier saints, Sts. Theodore and George, with a tiny kneeling donor figure below[26] (fig. 65). These same saints were found on the lower part of the Freiburg Leaf done *c.* 1200; it is possible that this icon may be dated shortly thereafter, perhaps by *c.* 1225. Here the positions of the two rider saints are almost the same, but their horses are

64. Pontifical of Apamea (London, British Library, Add. MS 57528): fol. 1r, illuminated initial with the mitered head of a bishop (4.0 x 4.0 cm)
The scribe Normandus copied a standard Roman pontifical for this manuscript, but marginal additions were made referring to the Bishop of Apamea in Syria. The palaeographical and codicological features of this book link it closely to the Egerton Sacramentary, and both books seem to have been done in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been reorganized in Acre. The pontifical was probably done in the 1230s, and the style of its handsome initial with garish colors and handsomely gilded miter, is parallel to, but slightly later than that found in the Riccardiana Psalter.

parading, not galloping, left to right with unusual decorations, namely the tassels on their forelocks. Mounted soldier saints like these are rare in Byzantine art, but clearly they are of great interest to the Crusaders. Their spears with red cross standards, long tunics, diadems and pearl dot outlined haloes all plainly indicate Crusader imagery done here by an artist otherwise strongly influenced by Byzantine models. The presence of a diminutive donor, while again not unknown in Byzantine icon painting, is also a typical Crusader feature based on western practice. What is remarkable here is the fact that the donor is given a Greek surname, George Parisi, in the inscription at the right, and the saints are given very specific Greek titles, St. Theodore Strateletes, and St. George Diasorites, the latter very rare. This all seems to indicate that George has commissioned this icon from a Crusader painter, but for what function? Was it meant to be a gift to St. Catherine's Monstery, where the icon is located now? Whatever its intended purpose, the strongly Byzantinizing heads of these saints, and the flaring, flamelike draperies of their cloaks, enhanced with intensive golden highlighting or chrysography, makes this a memorable image, and one that George must have been very pleased with. The visual link between this icon and the Freiburg Leaf certainly connects this impressive painting with the German presence in the Holy Land.

There are few significant works in sculpture or in metal known from these years, but those that are known are quite interesting examples. In sculpture we have an impressively simple burial plaque for Philippe d'Aubigny which is given heraldic decoration and an inscription.[27] His tomb was placed just outside the main entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1236, during the time of Christian access under the treaty of 1229. It is the last known Crusader burial at this holy site. Meanwhile significant relics continued to be sent to the West from the Holy Land. A relic of Christ's Holy Foot, the *Passus Christi*, an imprint of his foot made by Jesus before he ascended to heaven, was taken to England by Dominicans in the 1240s where it was presented to the Church at Westminster. An even more famous relic was the Holy Blood of Christ, given to King Henry III of England. Matthew Paris, the monk and chronicler, gives an account of the ceremony by which Henry deposited the

65. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: icon of St. Theodore Strateletes and St. George Diasorites with donor figure, George Parisi (32.8 x 21.9 cm)
This Crusader icon is remarkable because of the way its imagery and style combine both Crusader and Byzantine aspects. The combination of Sts. George and Theodore was very popular in Byzantine art, here represented as mounted soldier saints. The dramatic flame-like draperies frame the heads of the saints with their Crusader banners held closely nearby, differentiating this icon from the Freiburg Leaf which contains the same saintly pair. The diminutive donor offers a prayer in Greek: "Pray for the Servant of God, George Parisi." This icon appears to have been commissioned by a Greek Orthodox donor from a Crusader painter at Sinai.

reliquary in the Church in Westminster, also in the 1240s. The significance of these relics is that they are apparently coming from the Crusader Holy Land, from Jerusalem during the period of open access; they are not part of the booty from Constantinople. Furthermore, the reliquaries which contained them were also likely made by Crusader goldsmiths, possibly in Jerusalem before its loss in 1244.

In other media, it is in architecture that the most important developments are found in these years. We have noted in passing the dismantling of walls and the possibility of rebuilding as well as the initiation of new construction. Because of the treaty of 1229, there was no significant work done in Jerusalem, and its walls – taken down in 1219 – were not rebuilt in this period, although there were selected attempts to do some repairs in and around the Christian quarter of the city in 1239. The most important work was done in castle fortification, and in the design and execution of Crusader churches and chapels.

The castles of Toron, Sidon, Montfort, and Safed are important castles for which major construction was done in the period 1227 to the early 1240s. Toron, east of Tyre, recovered by the terms of Frederick's treaty, was rebuilt, but today it is essentially an eighteenth-century reconstruction. The sea castle at Sidon was started in 1227–1228, but the work done then would be swallowed up in the major rebuilding sponsored later by King Louis IX in the early 1250s. Montfort was the newly built headquarters of the Teutonic Knights starting in 1227, which reflects German architectural concepts from the West, but, as we have seen already, was decorated with excellent Crusader sculpture and interesting painting. Besides the icon fragment we have seen, there are also rib voussoirs from one of the great halls in the castle painted with the Gothic motifs of a gold *fleurs-de-lys* on a dark blue ground, as we have seen above (see fig. 61). Safed, like Chastel Pelerin at 'Atlit, was a major Templar castle, built starting in 1240. It is notable because in 1264, Benedict of Alignan, the Bishop of Marseilles, had a text prepared which described its construction; it is in fact the most detailed thirteenth-century architectural account of any Crusader castle.[28] The castle was very large, housed a sizeable garrison, and is located 40 km east of Acre and southeast of Toron. Unfortunately today it is in ruins and excavations have only begun to discover its special features. In one chamber, however, a handsomely carved thirteenth-century head of a bearded and tonsured man has been found. Safed also appears to have had a round chapel, demonstrating that the centralized polygonal one at 'Atlit was not alone in this regard.

Otherwise, the surge of chapel and church construction in this period is interesting for other reasons. At 'Atlit a new church, found in ruins but fully excavated in the 1930s, was built in the town during the late 1230s or early 1240s, outside the castle walls. Although it was small, only a little more than twenty meters long, it shows important evidence for the development of the earlier Gothic features that were first found in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In fact its closest analogue in the Latin Kingdom is the Coenaculum from the late twelfth century in Jerusalem with its somewhat earlier, but developed ribbed vaults, mouldings and carved capitals. But the most important parallel is found in Nicosia, Cyprus, where the huge Church of St. Sophia was being built in the years after 1200, up to 1228. The plan of the 'Atlit polygonal apse is comparable to that at St. Sophia, and the rib profiles, foliate capitals, carved bosses, and floral designs show a slightly later phase of development. With its program of architectural elements, the little parish church in the town at 'Atlit is an important landmark for the developing Gothic style in the Latin Kingdom. Taking its excavated evidence into consideration, we can see the new Gothic style developing by looking at the architectural characteristics of, first, the Church of Notre Dame at Tortosa and the chapel at Montfort in the 1220s, then the slightly later 'Atlit town church, and finally, the work at Safed and at Crac des Chevaliers in the 1240s.[29]

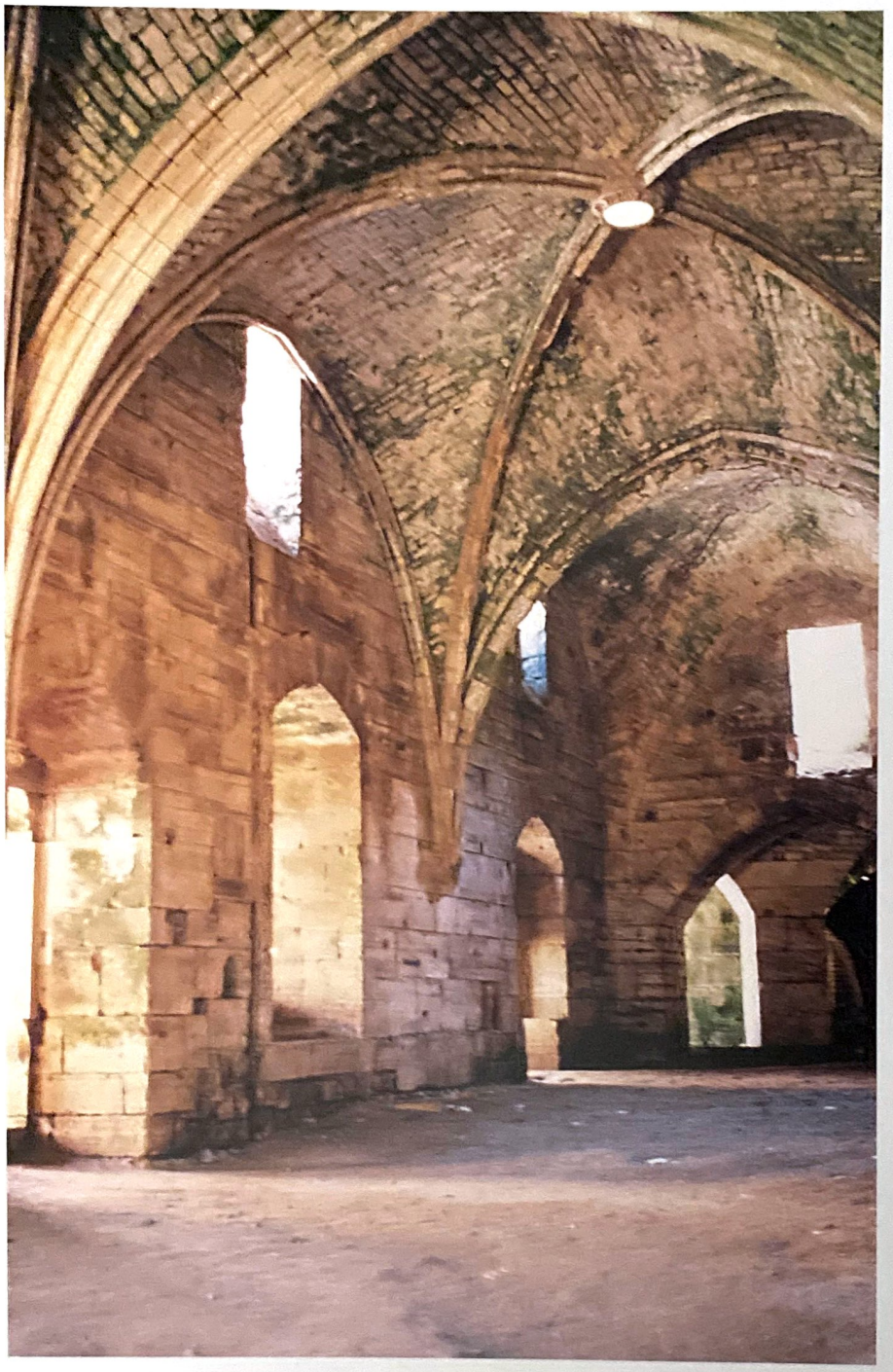
In some ways, however, the most developed Gothic found in the Crusader States prior to the advent of Louis IX in 1250 can be found at Crac des Chevaliers. The so-called "Logis du Maitre," identified as a private living area for the garrison commander, and the great hall of the knights facing on to the central courtyard were apparently constructed in the 1230s and 1240s. Although this Hospitaller castle is far to the north of the Templar castles of Chastel Pelerin and Safed, or Montfort built by the Teutonic Knights, Crac has architectural features that are found nowhere else. The Logis

66. Crac des Chevaliers Castle: Logis du Maitre (detail), view of the window in the round chamber, from the exterior
This large window would have offered a panoramic and pleasantly pastoral view east-southeast across the valley toward Homs for the Hospitaller commander and his guests. The handsome five-petal floral motif which decorates the chamfered surfaces of the window is also found on the moulding around the wall on the inside of this chamber. These flowers must have been especially lovely when seen with their original polychromy intact. This elegant round chamber and its grand window is the only residential room at Crac which is given sculptural decoration.

du Maitre consists of a round, rib-vaulted living area with a large window looking east[30] (fig. 66). It has distinctive mouldings decorated with five-leaf palmettes containing a bouton in the middle, and floral capitals at the springing of the vaults. The great hall consists of a much larger rib-vaulted space in three squarish bays with four-part vaults (fig. 67). Its decoration in terms of foliate capitals is noticeably more naturalistic than those found in the Logis. Much has been made in the literature about possible parallels with sculptured decoration in French churches dated in the 1240s, such as St. Nicaise in Reims, or the Sainte Chapelle. But these parallels seem to be mostly coincidental similarities, not the result of any direct inspiration or the transfer of artists west to east, not yet. These phenomena will, however, be seen after 1250, in architecture and in painting.

In sum, a great deal of architectural work was carried out between 1225 and 1244, and the main patrons appear to have been resident Franks, especially the great military orders, not transient figures. The growth and development of Crusader adaptations of Gothic church architecture is notable, but nothing extant can be directly associated with the most prominent political and military figures at the time, men such as Frederick II or John of Ibelin, nor do we have anything commissioned by the new orders of the Franciscan and the Dominicans. Only the little church of St. Mary of Mount Carmel is a very modest example of work done for the new Carmelite order in the first half of the thirteenth century. We would, of course, know a good deal more about Crusader religious architecture if the churches erected in the thirteenth century after the Third Crusade had survived in Acre, where essentially every major order had a church connected with their convent or monastery, and where major wall construction was being done around the Montmusard suburb.

To a large extent the possible circumstances for artistic patronage and any description of productive artistic work between 1229 and 1244 is overshadowed in the written sources about the Crusaders by the story of the Lombard War, the Crusades of 1239–1241, and the invasion of the Khwarismian Turks in 1244. We can only turn to pilgrims' accounts and the unique text of Benedict of Alignan on Safed with the expectation of reading about works of art



67. Crac des Chevaliers Castle: Great Hall with Gothic four-part vaulting
Located just off the courtyard at the end of the lengthy bent entrance passages from the outside, this great Knights Hall must have served the garrison for all large assemblies of the Hospitallers inside the castle. Although the decoration is spare, with only some carvings on the corbels for the springings of the ribs, and two carved bosses, the hall is grand, slightly larger than the castle chapel and its three-bay rib-vaulted space provided a venue that is both handsome and useful. The most remarkable feature at its entrance is a very handsome gallery or loggia on the east side where the Gothic architectural sculpture is remarkably up to date in 1230 as compared to current developments in France.

and architecture. In the absence of very much figural art in this period, we must imagine much was destroyed, given the high level of architectural productivity. The unrelenting internecine warfare in the Crusader States was stimulated largely by the fact of a non-resident king, the introduction and maintenance of Imperial appointees in the Latin East, and the factionalization of the resident Franks, the Italian men of commerce, and the military orders. On the Imperial side we find Marshall Richard Filangieri, appointed by the Emperor, with Imperial troops, supported by the Teutonic Knights, a few Crusader nobles and the Pisans. The Hospitallers also assumed a pro-imperialist stance. The Ibelins were supported by most of the Crusader nobility, the newly formed commune of Acre, the Genoese and King Henry I of Cyprus. Not even the death of their leader, John of Ibelin, in 1236 diminished their resolve. A third group attempted to position themselves between these two factions; they were made up of the Templars, the Venetians, and a few nobles along with much of the clergy.

As the end of the ten-year truce approached in 1239, the situation was complicated by the fact that the Pope had issued calls for two expeditions: one to go to the aid of Constantinople and the Latin Empire, one to go to the aid of the Holy Land. Meanwhile Frederick II, still acting as regent for Conrad, blocked any assistance to those wishing to take the cross to go to the Holy Land in order to avoid having any Crusaders arriving early and breaking the truce. Exasperated once again, Pope Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick for a second time on March 20, 1239. The army going to Palestine finally set out in the fall of 1239, leaving by ports not under Imperial control. Upon arrival Thibaut IV of Champagne, King of Navarre, took command and led the Crusaders from Acre to Ascalon, ostensibly to strengthen the walls and secure their southern defences.[31] Nearby in Gaza they suffered a grievous defeat in November 1239, however, and were forced to return to Acre. Meanwhile the Muslim Emir of Kerak, Daud, attacked Jerusalem in December, ostensibly because of Crusader attempts to rebuild part of the walls of the city, which he claimed violated the truce. As spring and summer approached, 1240, Thibaut learned about the struggle for power going on among his Muslim enemies. Eventually, Thibaut was approached by al-Salih Ismail of Damascus for aid and the terms of a new treaty were agreed on in July 1240 (see above, Map 9). The Crusaders would secure their southern defences to prevent any Egyptian army from marching north into Syria; the Muslims agreed to return the Latin Kingdom to its full extent west of the Jordan River, in other words, they ceded to the Crusaders all land lost during Saladin's invasions, including Jerusalem! But there was also serious dissension in the Crusader ranks between the Templars and the Hospitallers over territorial rights from these proposals, and the freeing of the Christian prisoners captured during the battle at Gaza, which led to the Hospitallers arranging a separate treaty with Sultan Ayyub in Cairo. Thibaut supported this new treaty as well, but in the face of the endless civil war, decided his time as commander was done.

Fortunately for the Latin Kingdom, shortly after Thibaut left in September, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, arrived in October 1240. Richard arrived with remarkable credentials. He was brother to the king of England, Henry III, and his sister, Isabel, was the wife of Frederick II. Indeed he had the full support of Frederick as the new commander of the Crusader army. By the time he left the Latin Kingdom seven months later, in May 1241, he had succeeded in further rebuilding the fortifications of Ascalon, fully accepting and implementing the terms of the two treaties that Thibaut had arranged, and making his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Because of these treaties, Thibaut and Richard effectively became the last Crusader commanders in the thirteenth century to lead armies to the Holy Land and make significant territorial gains, including Jerusalem. But neither Thibaut nor Richard succeeded in resolving the feud between the Ibelins and the Imperialists, and this division had now produced dangerous open hostility between the Hospitallers and the Templars.

The civil war continued unabated until June of 1243, when Tyre was captured from the Imperialists, and Richard Filangieri was sent back to Apulia. With these events Hohenstaufen power collapsed in the Holy Land, although of course, Conrad, son of Frederick II, who reached his majority in his 15th year, 1242–1243, still held his claim to be King of Jerusalem. One result of the end of the civil war

in the Latin East was the eclipse of the Hospitallers and the rise of the Templars to greater power. This was manifested by a raid on Nablus in October 1242, where the Templars successfully avenged an earlier massacre of Christian pilgrims by the Muslims. The Templars proudly commemorated this bloody operation in a fresco done later, in *c.* 1280, in its church in Perugia, San Bevignate.[32] New power was also manifested by the success of the Templars in reacquiring rights to return to the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem, including their former headquarters, by the end of 1243. But the Crusader control of Jerusalem would be short-lived, and already signs of impending danger were evident.

On July 2, 1243, the Mongols had defeated the Seljuk Turks, and their Ayyubid and Khwarismian allies at Köse Dagh in northeastern Anatolia. The long-term result of this victory was the appearance of the Mongols as a major factor in the Near East along with the Muslims. The short-term result, however, was that the Khwarismian Turks were pushed toward Syria, just at the time – late 1243 – that the Templars were negotiating a new treaty with al-Salih Ismail of Damascus which reconfirmed the 1240 treaties, and explicitly gave over Jerusalem in its entirety to the Crusaders. The Franks thereby regained even the Dome of the Rock, and they were said to hang bells in the al-Aqsa Mosque. This was a signal diplomatic achievement, but its results lasted briefly, from December 1243 to August 1244.

In the spring of 1244, Sultan Ayyub in Cairo urged the Khwarismian Turks to attack his Muslim and Crusader rivals in Syria. Beginning in May they crossed the Euphrates and steadily made their way to Jerusalem, which still had no walls. The attack began on July 11. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was devastated. The marble framework of the aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed, and some of the columns were sent to Mecca as trophies. The tombs of the Crusader kings were destroyed and their bones scattered. Christians were massacred; the Khwarismians took no prisoners. By August 23 all of the Holy City was in Muslim control, never again to be held by the Crusaders. The Christian holy sites were in shambles; the eastern Christians who were allowed to remain made what repairs they could.

The Khwarismians had no interest in occupying Jerusalem; they rode on to join Sultan Ayyub's army at Gaza. The Crusaders hastily organized a new army at Acre and marched southward where they were joined by allied Muslim troops from Damascus and Homs! They met the enemy at La Forbie (Harbiyah), northeast of Gaza, and a great battle was fought on October 18, 1244. It must have been an amazing sight to see Muslim troops riding together with Crusader soldiers, all led by red cross banners and with Latin priests blessing the soldiers. In the ensuing battle the Crusader army was destroyed, along with part of the allied Muslim forces. Sultan Ayyub's army took hundreds of prisoners. One Muslim who fought with the Crusaders is reported to have said: "I realized when we were marching under the banners marked with the Cross, our undertaking could not succeed."[33]

Only Hattin ranked as a greater disaster for the Crusaders than the defeat at La Forbie. As soon as the news reached Rome, Pope Innocent IV issued the call for a new Crusade, in December of 1244. King Louis IX was seriously ill when he heard the call, but he vowed that if God would spare him, he would lead a new expedition. Meanwhile the Crusaders regrouped in Acre and were able to hold on while Ayyub attempted to subdue his Syrian rivals. When Ayyub was ready to attack the Latin Kingdom he took Ascalon in October 1247, and dismantled the Crusader walls, once again, the *third* time since 1188! Moving on to Jerusalem, he reclaimed the Muslim holy sites, and ordered the walls of the Holy City to be rebuilt. Satisfied with these measures, Ayyub, triumphant, returned to Damascus in 1248. Meanwhile Louis IX began preparations for the Sixth Crusade.

The achievements of Crusader Art in this second phase of development, though different from the years before 1187, are also impressive. Facing the challenge of making a new beginning, Crusader artists relocated from Jerusalem to Acre and restarted their work. The results showed continuity with earlier work in some ways, but many more differences arise. It is clear that the intense pace of architectural work continued and, if anything, expanded in these years between 1187 and 1244. Major repair and rebuilding was undertaken at Ascalon, Acre, Caesarea, Jaffa, Arsur and Jerusalem. Major new building was carried out at Acre on the Montmusard walls, and at Crac des Chevaliers, 'Atlit, Safed, Montfort,

Sidon at the sea castle, and others. And while greater diversity can be seen in the design and construction of castles and city walls, perhaps it is the spread and the development of the new Gothic architectural vocabulary that is the most notable innovation, seen especially in the churches and the chapels. It is, however, "Crusader Gothic," a version of Gothic not for the most part found anywhere else. Rarely linked directly to any Western European example, Crusader Gothic is realized from the conjunction of special sites, special functions, special needs, local materials, and the union of heavily built, often fortified buildings embellished with new Gothic designs for vaulting and decoration.

One important aspect of Crusader Art that is, alas, largely missing today is the residential art commissioned by the Crusader aristocracy. Although it no longer survives, one splendid example of this was the palace of John of Ibelin in Beirut. Carried out after the Crusaders reconquered Beirut in 1197, the palace was described admiringly by the German pilgrim, Wilbrand of Oldenburg in 1212. This is, in part, what he has to say about it:

> The palace rests on solid foundations. It is well situated looking out on one side to the sea and the ships which pass by, and on the other, to view the meadows, the shepherds, and very pleasant countryside. It has a fine marble pavement, which reproduces ripples on the water blown by a light breeze, in such a way that when one walks across it, it is as if one fords the water without leaving a trace on the sand represented below. The walls of the house are entirely covered with revetments of marble plaques done in the finest work, which resemble multi-colored wall hangings. The ceiling is painted the color of the sky, with such facility that one seems to see clouds pass, elsewhere a wind blowing, ... Syrians, Muslims and Greeks boast of their virtuosity in this art and compete with each other in producing such delightful work.[34]

He goes on to describe a nymphaeum in the middle of the palace with flowing water.

> And this water, escaping the nymphaeum by passing through many tiny orifices, generates a soft murmur which invites sleep to those sitting nearby. I would very much like to pass my life in such a way there.[35]

Such was the refinement and elegance of life that some of the great Crusader nobles enjoyed. Such was the possibility of patronage that John of Ibelin no doubt employed the very Syrian, Muslim and Greek artists Wilbrand praises in his text. This illustrates the same kind of multicultural assembly of artists commissioned by John of Ibelin for secular, residential artistic work in Beirut after the German Crusade, just the way the Crusader King and Byzantine Emperor had employed Greeks, Syrians and Latins to decorate the Church of the Nativity in the late 1160s. This textual description is important because it allows us to glimpse the comforts and delights enjoyed by Crusader nobles far removed from the concerns of the battlefield. It shows us what Fulcher of Chartres meant when, writing in the late 1120s, he said, "For we who were occidentals have now become orientals."[36] It helps us understand that Crusader Art was both religious and secular even if most of what survives is religious.

Perhaps the most surprising development in the religious figural arts is the new dominance of manuscript and icon painting. Major figural sculpture is much less evident. Even though very few major works of painting survive in this time, what painting there is introduces the new medium of icons, and formally we find new French Gothic and Italianate developments that begin to link up with and change the look of the strongly Byzantine-influenced Crusader work before 1187. Patronage is diversified, with Greeks and local eastern Christians becoming more active, and a richer array of Crusader artists was apparently available for commissions.

One aspect of continuity of course is the importance of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This produces the development of new pilgrimage sites – some in new Crusader buildings – to complement the old existing places that had become more difficult and more expensive to get to. Meanwhile the desire of these pilgrims to commission works of art continues, to serve as donations, souvenirs, and private devotional objects.

Certainly one of the continuous factors evident with Crusader Art in this period is the amount of destruction, ranging from 1187 to 1188 right up to the sack of Jerusalem in August of 1244. This produces a constant need for

replacements, to go along with the production of new objects. The desire for relics and reliquaries from the Holy Land continues unabated, intensified if anything, by the taste for such things created by the wave of Byzantine *objets* sent to the West following the Fourth Crusade.

Finally, we can reflect on certain special aspects that make the Crusader experience, and the experience of Crusader Art unique in this period. There is the fact that the Holy Sites, which formed such a focus for Crusader Art between 1099 and 1187, and are so tantalizingly accessible from time to time between 1229 and 1244, show so little evidence of artistic attention between 1188 and 1244. We might assume needed repairs were done no doubt, but no information about major renovations or innovations are documented. What is also interesting about these holy sites is the importance of local, eastern Christians, who were in charge when the Crusaders and their Frankish clergy were absent. The artistic presence and the artistic production of these local Christians is still difficult to discern in relation to the Crusader Art, but it is enormously important and needs more study. Another fact is the tremendous impact that Frederick II had on the Crusader East, politically and diplomatically. But artistically his influence is not realized so much directly in specifically German aspects as much as indirectly in enhanced Italian aspects in Crusader Art. Frederick's legacy to Crusader Art seems to be the expanded realization of the thirteenth-century Italianate features in the easterness of Crusader Art as a unique Near Eastern art of the Mediterranean basin. There is the fact that as the Crusaders repeatedly tried to organize themselves for action against their Muslim foes, they unfortunately seem to have become less unified and more diversified, a condition stimulated by the Imperial politics of Frederick II. The results were often distressing, especially during the Lombard wars with Crusaders fighting Crusaders, Hospitallers in open conflict with the Templars, Pisans fighting Genoese and the Venetians fighting them. But the most astounding moment came when Christian Crusaders allied with Syrian Muslims to march under the red cross Crusader banners against the Khwarismian Turks and the Egyptian forces of Sultan Ayyub at La Forbie. When would the level of multicultural unity seen here in military action in 1244, be expressed in Crusader Art in the future? Would this level ever be expressed in Crusader Art?

Notes

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2. Donald Queller and Thomas Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, and for papers given on the 800th anniversary of 1204, see, Angeliki Laiou, ed., *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, Réalités Byzantines, 10, Paris: Lethielleux, 2005. See also, Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, London and New York: Longman, 1995.
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4. Erica Dodd, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi, near Nebek, Syria*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2000.
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7. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. 385–6.
8. Hugo Buchthal first identified and published this work as a Crusader manuscript done in Acre, in *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, pp. 33–5.
9. Robert Nelson, "An Icon at Mt. Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt

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11. Thilo Ulbert, *Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis*, Resafa III, Mainz am Rhein:Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1990.

12. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 159.

13. Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, "Peregrinatio," in J.C.M. Laurent, ed., *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs Bibliopola, 1864, p. 163, and D. Jacoby, "Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of Its Development," in B. Kedar *et al.*, eds, *Outremer, Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem: 1982, p. 212. For the most recent discussion of the extent of the city walls of Acre, see, Benjamin Kedar, "Les Murailles d'Acre Franque," *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 164 (2006), pp. 45–52.

14. James Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

15. Helen Nicholson and Malcolm Barber discuss the history of these celebrated relics of St. Euphemia. See H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 2001, pp. 3–5, 146, and M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 199–200.

16. Thietmar, "Peregrinatio," transl. and quoted by R. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 52.

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19. Bashford Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine: A Report of Explorations Made by the Museum," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 22, pt. II (1927), pp. 91–7.

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21. Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, transl. with Introd. by J. LaMonte, New York: Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 36–7.

22. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, pp. 39–46.

23. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 212–17.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 219–21.

25. Byzantine imagery with Christ, and the intercessory figures of the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist.

26. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 139–40.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 162–3.

28. Benedict of Alignan, *De Constructione Castri Saphet*, transl. by H. Kennedy, in *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 190–8.

29. C.N. Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem), and Qal'at ar-Rabad (Aijlun)*, ed. R. Denys Pringle, Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing, 1997.

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32. Color plates of this fresco are published by Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 2001, p. 78, pl. 2.19, and by Pietro Scarpellini, "La chiesa di San Bevignate, i Templari e la pittura perugina del Duecento," in *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia*, Milan: Electa Spa, 1987, pp. 125, 126, 131, 133.

33. Al-Mansur Ibrahim reported by Al-Dahabi, *Kitab Duwal al-Islam*, transl. by A. Nègre, Damascus, 1979, p. 248.

34. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, "Peregrinatio," quoted in Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, p. 136.

35. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, "Peregrinatio," quoted in Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, p. 136.

36. See note 6 in Chapter 1.

3

Phase Three of Crusader Art

The Climax of Crusader Painting 1250–1291

The year 1250 was a difficult and momentous year for the Sixth Crusade and the Crusader East.[1] In spite of the promising start during which the Crusade had taken Damietta in June 1249, Louis IX's brother, Robert of Artois, was subsequently killed leading an attack on al-Mansurah in the Nile Delta in February 1250 (Map 10). Then in April Louis was forced to surrender his entire Crusader army at Fariskur and the King himself was put in Prison. Following the ransoming of his men, Louis was freed and the remnants of the Sixth Crusade including the King arrived exhausted and in tatters in Acre in May. Later that year, Frederick II Hohenstaufen died in December, and Conrad IV succeeded him as the king of Jerusalem.

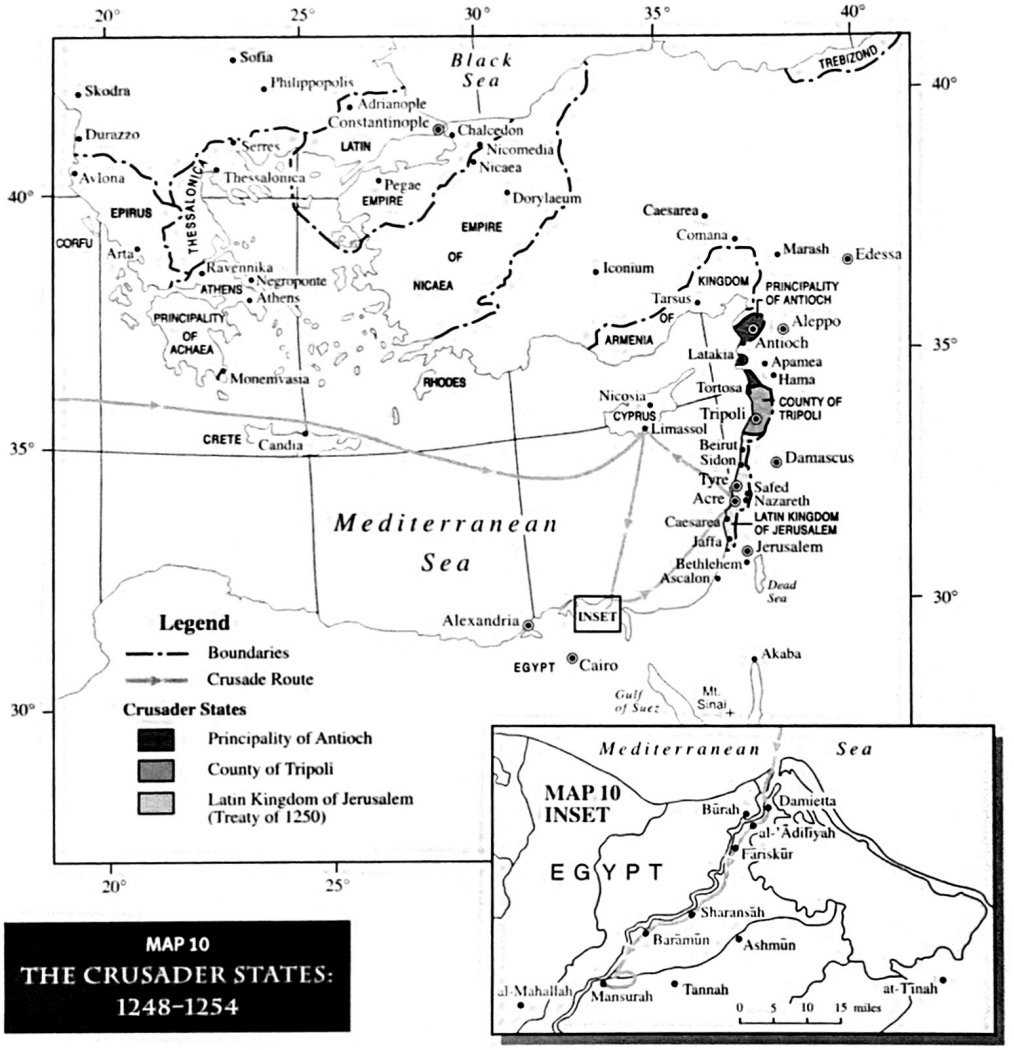
The only truly positive feature in the midst of these mostly dismal developments was the arrival of Louis IX in Acre. One chronicle reported the following:

> ...all in that city went to meet the king in a great procession. The clergy were solemnly vested and bore reliquaries and crosses, holy water, censers, and other things appropriate to Holy Church. Knights, citizens, sergeants, ladies, girls and everyone else were all as splendidly dressed and adorned as they could manage. All the bells in the town were rung ... . Then straight away they led him and those with him to the high church of the city. Many tears were shed in compassion and joy that the king, his brothers and companions, had been saved from the great blow Christendom had suffered. Then they escorted the king to his residence and all the great men of Acre gave him handsome gifts, rich and precious.[2]

The circumstances were indeed bittersweet. Louis's much anticipated Crusade expedition to Egypt in 1249–1250 had been a disastrous failure. When Louis arrived in Acre after his release, he was in despair and he did penance. Meditating on a positive plan of action, Louis decided that, in effect, his Crusade vow had not been fulfilled. Seeing the potential for much good he could do to strengthen the Latin Kingdom, he made the decision to stay in the Holy Land. By this remarkably generous act, Louis prolonged the life of the Latin Kingdom and the Crusader East, which was otherwise in precarious circumstances.

Politically and militarily the situation was difficult for the Crusader Kingdom. The heir to the throne of Jerusalem, Conrad, son of Frederick II, had no plans to come East, and the acting regent, King Henry I of Cyprus, resided in Nicosia. The sultan in Cairo still held prisoners from the earlier Crusades along with a number from the Crusader army defeated at La Forbie in 1244. The Mongols were on the march, moving closer to Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine. Louis IX had no real jurisdiction in the Latin Kingdom, but he was esteemed as a pious and outstanding Crusader leader, and he took charge. He immediately set to work on the diplomatic front; he began a program of construction, building the fortifications of the city of Acre, and he apparently commissioned a major work of art for his personal use.

Opposite: Detail from Kahn Madonna (see fig. 85)



MAP 10
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1248–1254

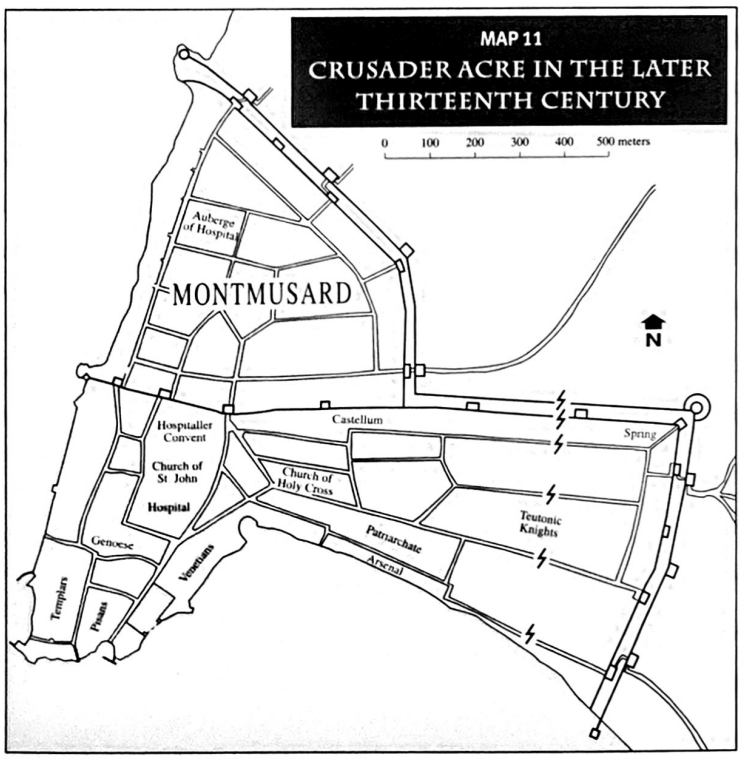
CRUSADE OF LOUIS IX: 1249–1250

Crusader Art, 1250–1268

When Louis arrived in Acre his first concern was to free the Crusaders held prisoner after the defeat of his army in Egypt. To this end he engaged in vigorous diplomacy with the new Mamluk rulers now in power in Cairo. The process was lengthy, but by May 1252 the prisoners had been released and a new truce arranged through his efforts. He was active diplomatically with other eastern leaders as well, for example, with Sheik al-Jabal, leader of the Shiite Assassin sect located in the mountains on the northeast border of the County of Tripoli in 1250. These were not his first diplomatic efforts; while *en route* to the Holy Land in Nicosia in 1249, Louis had received ambassadors from and sent envoys to the Mongols far to the east, in Karakorum, and he had received an embassy from the king of Armenia, Hetoum I.

These diplomatic exchanges were significant partly because of the gifts exchanged between the principals. When Louis had sent three Dominicans as envoys to the Mongols in 1249, he had included a "tent arranged for use as a Chapel – a very costly gift indeed, for it was made throughout of fine scarlet cloth."[3] Inside this tent were images representing the Annunciation and other subjects relating to the Christian faith. They were also given relics of the True Cross to give to the great khan. The purpose of this initiative was to explore the possibility of a Crusader alliance with the Mongols, and to seize the opportunity to proselytize for Christianity, hoping to link up with Nestorian Christians known to be in the Far East.

In another instance, the Muslim Sheik al-Jabal, on the other hand, was trying to discontinue the tribute that had been forced upon him by the Templars and Hospitallers. When he saw Louis IX could not be bluffed into revoking the tribute, something Louis had no jurisdiction over in any case, the sheik and Louis exchanged fine gifts as a sign of mutual respect. For his part Louis sent jewels, fine scarlet cloth, golden cups and silver bridles. These gifts are glimpses into what artistic production was possible on Cyprus and in Acre for such purposes. Even though we do not have these objects today, nor do we know any details about them, they seem to indicate workshops and commercial markets that were capable of meeting the needs of high-level diplomatic gift exchange at this time.



For the city of Acre, Louis immediately initiated a new program of fortifications (Map 11). His main focus was apparently on the outer walls, especially for Montmusard. This section, on the north side of the city, was only protected by a single wall done by 1212. Louis constructed a second wall, which was integrated into the system around the rest of the city. When this project was done in March 1251, Louis made time for his one major pilgrimage visit, to Nazareth, which was then under Crusader control. On March 25, the feast of the Annunciation, Louis attended mass at the Church of the Incarnation. The papal legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, celebrated the liturgy and delivered the sermon; Louis presented fine gifts to the church. It was this same legate who, when discovering that the Crusaders were still minting gold bezants in Acre and Tripoli imitating Muslim coins, reported this practice to Pope Honorius IV. The pope issued a decree banning such coins, and in Acre a substitute was introduced with an equal-armed cross on the obverse, and on the reverse the name of Muhammed was deleted. The place of origin, Acre, was cited, along with this message written in Arabic: "We are glorified by the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, from whom we receive our salvation and life and resurrection, and through whom we are delivered and pardoned."[4] It was a valuable coin for use in the Near Eastern world with a Christian symbol and a new Christian message.

During the entire time Louis remained in the Holy Land, he worked almost continuously on rebuilding the fortifications of major Crusader strongholds. When the walls of Acre were finished and his pilgrimage was done, he moved on to Caesarea in March 1251, where he also directed construction to enclose the town with "ramparts, ditches and sixteen

towers".[5] The gatehouses erected at this time and still standing were given handsome Gothic foliate capitals as decoration. While he and his men resided at Caesarea, Louis also visited the city of Haifa nearby, where the walls and towers were repaired. His son, Peter, later to be the count of Alençon, was born in Chastel Pelerin at this time.

In March 1252, Louis finally concluded an agreement with the Mamluks in Egypt by which all prisoners held by the Crusaders and the Muslims would be repatriated, and there would be a 15-year truce. Louis moved his men southward to Jaffa to occupy a better strategic position relative to Cairo and Damascus. While he was there between May 1252 and June 1253, he worked to enclose Jaffa with ramparts, towers and ditches; it was in effect a full wall system around the lower town. Louis spent enormous sums of money on these defenses. Jaffa now became the southernmost Crusader fortified city in the Latin Kingdom. Louis also seems to have founded there a Franciscan church and convent to which he gave chalices of gilded silver, and books for the liturgical services and for the friars to read and study. We can imagine that all of these objects could have been made in Acre, but we may wonder if any of them might have been made in Jaffa.

In 1253 Louis received news that one of the Mongol princes, Sartaq, had converted to Christianity. Louis sent two Franciscans to him to explore a possible alliance against the Mamluks. As gifts Louis sent a bible and an illuminated psalter, again works presumably made in Acre on commission from the King. In April, Louis moved his men up to Sidon which had recently been attacked and plundered by the Muslims. When he arrived in June, he personally helped bury the bodies of the Crusaders who had been killed by the Muslims. This exemplary deed, one of many he performed while leading his men, was later chosen as one of the images selected for the *Hours of St Louis*, illustrated for the first time in Paris in the royal Book of Hours of Queen Jeanne d'Evreux in 1328. While he was in Sidon he and his men worked on both the land and the sea castles, only the latter of which remains today exactly as it was built then. When he was done, Sidon was also well fortified. Nothing Louis did while he was resident in the Holy Land was more valuable than these prodigious construction projects.

It was while Louis was working at Sidon that the sad news arrived of the death of his mother, and regent in his absence, Blanche of Castille. She had died in November of 1252; he got word in the summer of 1253. Louis returned to Acre and, after consulting with the great nobles of the Kingdom, the decision was made that he should return home. He sailed for France on April 24, 1254. When Louis left it may be fairly said that the Latin Kingdom and the city of Acre were probably in the strongest military condition they ever were in during the thirteenth century. To help maintain this position, Louis left 100 troops at his expense, the French Regiment, in Acre, commanded by Geoffrey de Sergines.[6] Truces had been reached with the Ayyubid Sultan of Damascus and the Mamluk Sultan of Cairo. The Latin Kingdom was in a stable and mainly peaceful condition.

The tremendous contribution that Louis made to the political, military, and architectural strength of the Latin Kingdom is paralleled by the equally important stimulus Louis provided to Crusader Art during his four-year stay. It is, of course, well known that Louis IX was an accomplished art patron in Paris before he arrived in the Near East. Perhaps his most famous commission before the Sixth Crusade was to build and decorate the Sainte Chapelle in the 1240s. It was a prodigious feat. The building was begun in 1241 to contain the relics of the passion recently obtained from Constantinople, especially the Crown of Thorns of Jesus. Louis wanted a sanctuary appropriate for them in the royal palace. The end result was the most exquisite Rayonnant Gothic building in Paris, with a program of magnificent stained-glass windows, a set of 12 life-sized sculpted apostles, 44 frescoes of the saintly martyrs of France in quatrefoils along the side walls, and a gilded and polychromed interior that evoked the idea of a golden reliquary on a monumental scale. The Sainte Chapelle was dedicated on April 26, 1248, following which event Louis set out on the Sixth Crusade. This means that at the same time that he was planning, organizing and implementing preparations and financing for his crusade, he was simultaneously overseeing the production of the Sainte Chapelle. In other words, while he was preparing to go to the Holy Land on Crusade, he was also creating in Paris a new Jerusalem, a new Holy Land, where the relics of the Passion symbolized

68. Arsenal Bible (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5211): frontispiece for Proverbs I: Solomon with the Personification of Holy Wisdom, fol. 307r (20.2 x 14.0 cm)

This remarkable frontispiece represents Solomon in the regalia of a Byzantine emperor accompanied by Holy Wisdom, personified by a winged angel, and his scribe. The combination of Gothic colorism with Franco-Byzantine Crusader style is striking as is the pointed-arch architecture and the bold ornament, including the quatrefoils at the base of the page with leafy "propellers" – ornament perhaps derived from stained-glass windows – and *çintamani* used on the architecture.

that earthly Holy City that Louis desired to reconquer for Christ in the Near East.

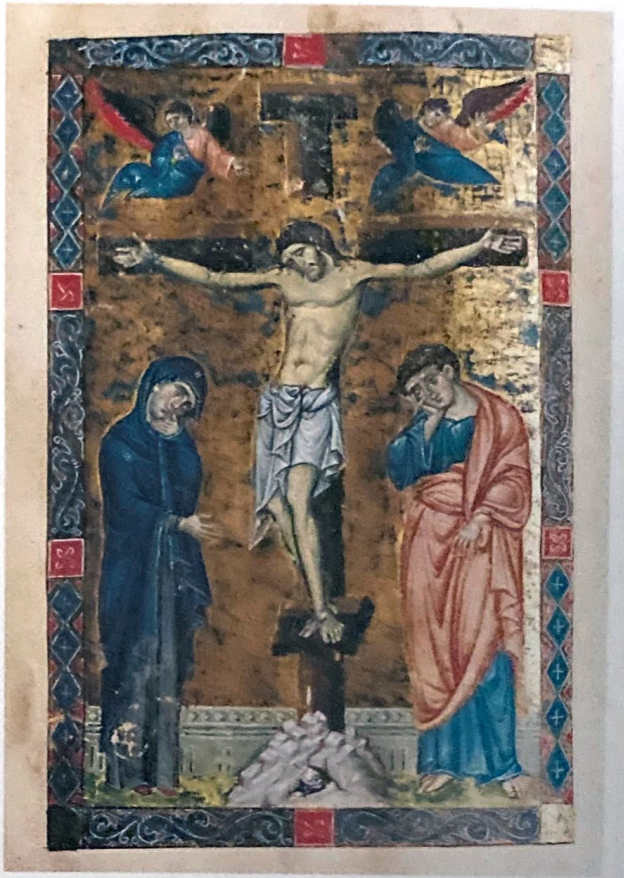
Just as the Sainte Chapelle was a very personal expression of Louis's goals and ambitions for the Crusade and the ideals of a Capetian holy kingship, the major extant work of figural art commissioned by him in Acre – the Arsenal Bible – was a unique affirmation of his role as the leader of the new chosen people. In this book, in a series of frontispieces to the Old French Bible text from Genesis to IV Kings including the books of Tobit, Job, Maccabees, Judith, Esther and Ruth, we find the historical narratives and the representations of the leaders of the Old Testament chosen people in their quest for the promised land, and their efforts to rule and defend it. In this book Louis could contemplate his role as the new Moses, the new Joshua, the new Samuel, the new David, the new Solomon.[7] One of the grandest images depicts Solomon enthroned with Holy Wisdom at the start of Proverbs I (fig. 68). The group in its setting is based on Byzantine and French Gothic sources, with the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style strongly stated in terms of the monumental figures, the colorism, and the spectacled eyes. The bold ornament found in these paintings is reminiscent of stained-glass windows, such as the Sainte Chapelle in Paris (fig. 69). Louis could also contemplate the role of his queen, Marguerite, as the new Esther, the new Judith (fig. 70), and the new Ruth. It was a manuscript very probably written and illustrated for him in the latter half of 1250 as he was deciding to stay in Acre and starting to work for the good of the Holy Land and the Latin Kingdom.

The production of this luxury book in Acre is remarkable. Prior to the execution of the Arsenal Bible, no manuscript illustration is known to have been done in Acre or anywhere else in the Latin Kingdom since before *c.* 1240. Then Louis IX arrived in Acre and suddenly he was able to commission a work of outstanding quality in 1250. Other works of painting, closely related to this codex in the style of its miniatures, were also done at this time. There is a Missal now in Perugia (Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 6),[8] another Missal – somewhat damaged – now in the British Library in London (Egerton MS 3153), a manuscript of Old Testament selections, including the Psalter, now in Padua (Biblioteca Capitolare, MS c.12), and an icon of the

69. Arsenal Bible (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5211): frontispiece for Kings III: the end of David's life and the anointing of Solomon, fol. 183r (21.6 x 14.3 cm)

This page, which contains scenes representing the death of David and the advent of Solomon, is set in a remarkably original ornamental framework. Each scene appears in a combined diamond/quatrefoil element apparently derived from architectural sources. These elements appear between monumental star-shaped ornaments that seem to evoke stained glass. The whole page is done in a Gothic color scheme which, along with the ornaments, suggests the Sainte Chapelle as a possible creative inspiration for this Crusader artist working for Louis IX in Acre.

70. Arsenal Bible (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5211): frontispiece for Judith: Judith and Holofernes, fol. 252r (22.2 x 14.3 cm)
The Arsenal Bible contains texts from three Old Testament books that narrate the exploits of heroic Hebrew women: the books of Judith, Esther and Ruth. Judith, seen here, is of course the most impressive "military" heroine, wielding a mighty sword against the Assyrian general, Holofernes. She is given a striking blue and gold costume and receives the tribute of her people, all of whom are dressed in eastern garb, as she stands holding the head of Holofernes in triumph. Her story seems to be an allegory to inspire the Crusaders against the Muslims in Louis's prayerbook.



71. Perugia Missal (Perugia, Bibl. Capitolare MS 6): fol. 182v, Crucifixion (19.9 x 12.7 cm)
This introduces what becomes the standard Crusader imagery for this scene: a substantial figure of Christ with a large loin cloth dead on a heavy cross with beveled members to show their thickness. The characteristic sorrowing poses of Mary – sideways with head bent over with thumb held to her nose – and John – frontal with head bent over, hand on cheek with little finger extending to his nose – become canonical in the second half of the thirteenth century. The angels mourn above, but even as their poses vary, they help reflect the emotional temperature of the scene which embodies a heightened level of human sorrow.

72. Perugia Missal: fol. 183r, Headpiece to the Canon, Angels with a medallion of the Head of Christ (9.5 x 12.7 cm)
This important image stands at the start of the canon of the mass, "Te igitur clementissime pater ...": "Most merciful father, we humbly pray and beseech you through Jesus Christ ..." and shows two angels worshipping a medallion-shaped icon of Jesus, the *Pantokrator*, in effect visualizing the prayer. The painterly style of these angels emphasizes their human-like presence, and the treatment of their eyes with the linear articulation creates a "spectacle-like" configuration typical of painting in Acre in the 1250s.

Crucifixion,[9] now in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. The significance of these paintings is great as an index of the newly revived artistic production possibilities in Acre.

The Perugia Missal has a monumental full-page Crucifixion and a rectangular headpiece at the start of the canon of the mass (figs. 71 and 72). The Franco-Byzantine Crusader style seen in these miniatures is very close to the style of the Arsenal Bible Master, who worked on Louis's personal Bible. The calendar of the Perugia Missal also has important evidence linking this book to Acre; in the entry for July 12 there is a commemoration for the "dedication ecclesie Acconensis".[10] This refers to the Crusader reconquest of Acre on July 12, 1191, and the rededication of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. Not only the style of this artist, but also the imagery of the Crucifixion is also found in the damaged British Library Missal in a similar frontispiece, and also in a Crucifixion icon now at Mount Sinai in the Monastery of St. Catherine. In all three examples the dead Christ on a substantial beveled cross exhibits an "S" curve pose with a loincloth featuring a long vertical fold on the left side ending in a sharp point. The Virgin's distinctive pose includes her head sharply inclined to the right with her left thumb held against her nose, while St. John, inclining his head to the left, holds his right hand to his face with the little finger touching his nose. We notice how Mary's and John's eyes are strongly outlined with a horizontal line leading back toward the ear, suggesting a 'spectacled' effect. There are two mourning angels above in each case. Different artists no doubt executed these works, but the close relationship of their style and the iconographic vocabulary held in common strongly suggest that they worked in workshops closely linked in Acre in the early 1250s, possibly while Louis IX was still in the Holy Land.

There is one other biblical manuscript now in Padua which also belongs to this group, although it may have been done a bit later, in the mid-1250s. In the Padua codex the most important Old Testament book included is the Psalter, a book conspicuously absent in the Arsenal Bible done for the king. In the Padua codex Psalter the imagery focuses on the figure of David, mostly emphasizing his royalty and presenting him, in effect, as the author of the Psalms. The historiated initial for Psalm 1 includes King David with his psaltery, above, and below, young David cuts off the head of Goliath (fig. 73). Stylistically we see in the blue, red, pink, maroon colorism, in the linear designs of the figures, the draperies, and the ornament, the strong influence of French Gothic ideas on Crusader painting, also seen in the Arsenal Bible and the other Acre works.

73. Padua Old Testament Selections (Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, MS c12): fol. 1v, historiated initial "B", with King David, and David and Goliath (6.8 x 6.6 cm)

This begins the Psalter, "Beatus vir ...," "Happy the man who ... delights in the law of lord ...," and contains two images of David, believed to be the author of the Psalms. Above we see the standard image: David crowned, playing his psaltery, but unlike the comparable image in the Melisende Psalter, here his garment is covered with *çintamani*. Below is a second image of David depicted as a rather large youth decapitating Goliath. They are not "author portraits," but rather characteristic images identifying the author. There is a strong Gothic note played here in terms of color and the style of the diminutive figures, but the interlace is done in thin strands with interesting interlocking designs. The Psalter contained in this codex is the most conspicuous book "missing" in the Arsenal Bible done for King Louis IX.

The sudden appearance in Acre in the period *c.* 1250–1255 of these several major works, including a lavishly and elegantly painted Bible in the vernacular Old French, a handsomely done Old Testament codex including a Psalter in Latin, and two high-quality Missals in Latin, along with an icon painted in a fully formulated Franco-Byzantine Crusader style newly influenced by French Gothic art, is a striking development. This evidence in conjunction with purely textual references to Louis's interest in books, in particular his commissions for them as diplomatic gifts and for use in the Franciscan convent at Jaffa, seems to indicate clearly that Louis had a powerful impact as a stimulus strongly responsible for revitalizing the production of book painting in Acre.

But how did this happen? Where could Louis find the artists to do a major project like the Arsenal Bible, when nothing had apparently been done in Acre for some years? Taken together these projects suggest at least seven or eight master painters working with four or five assistants in various workshops. Possibly the Arsenal Bible was done in the Dominican House in Acre as a special project for the king. The Missals very likely would have been done in the scriptorium of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, the old scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre relocated to Acre. The icon might have been painted in the convent of St. Catherine's, a dependency of the monastery on Mount Sinai. The big question is, however, how such artists of good quality were recruited on short notice, artists who were mature, high-quality Crusader painters and who had been exposed to the new French Gothic style adequately so they could integrate it into their work. It is unlikely, indeed impossible, that they would have been artists recently arrived from France, and only newly exposed to Crusader Art. It is possible some of them could have come from Cyprus as second-generation settlers, but evidence is lacking to make a case for this *c.* 1250. It is much more likely that some of the artists came from Constantinople, where the Crusader "Latin Empire" had existed since the conquest by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

The evidence for Crusader artists working in the Latin Empire of Constantinople is limited, but an important archaeological find in 1967 has yielded important documentation. Walled up after 1261 in a small chapel of a church formerly used by mendicant friars, in what is known today as the Kalenderhane Mosque in Constantinople, fragments of fresco paintings were found.[11] Painstaking reconstruction revealed that the imagery was centered on a large standing figure of St. Francis in the apse, surrounded by scenes of his life and miracles (figs. 74 and 75). It is the earliest fresco ensemble dedicated to the commemoration of St. Francis east or west, done shortly after his canonization in 1228, but long before the paintings were executed in the church of San Francesco at Assisi later in the thirteenth century. It is moreover the only painting of St. Francis in the Latin East yet discovered, dating between 1228 and 1261 on purely historical grounds. But art historically, the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of these frescoes is slightly earlier than the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal, to which they are very closely related, and therefore date in the 1240s. In fact it seems possible that the Crusader artist of the St. Francis frescoes, or one of his close assistants, may have come to Acre in the late 1240s, certainly no later than 1250.

Careful analysis of the paintings in question indicates that it is the Perugia Missal painter whose style is closest to that of the St. Francis frescoes. Aspects of the Arsenal Bible master's work are also closely related to these frescoes. Even though they are all works done by different artists, the fact that the style is mature and fully developed and that it is so close in formal characteristics suggests they may have worked in the same workshop. One important question is, of course, what are the origins of that style? Given what we have seen, the answer may well be Constantinople, for which the St. Francis frescoes constitute the best evidence. It was in Constantinople that a Crusader artist could have worked in the 1230s and 1240s and begun to learn about the new French Gothic style. Constantinople was in direct contact with Paris, for example, in the persons of the Emperor Baldwin II, who traveled to Western Europe as often as possible seeking aid, and Louis IX, who obtained the relics of the passion of Christ for the Sainte Chapelle from him in the years 1239 and 1241. The problem is that we have so little knowledge of other Crusader Art that can be dated in the 1240s, in Acre, in Constantinople, or in St. Catherine's

74. (left above) **Istanbul, Kalenderhane Djami fresco fragments: Chapel of St. Francis, Franciscan friar (height of friar: approximately 21.0 cm)**
These images of the Miracles of St. Francis and of Franciscan friars, done in a painterly style in Constantinople, probably in the 1240s, are very close in style to both the Arsenal Bible, and to the Perugia Missal. This friar is similar in pose and figure style to the scribes accompanying the figure of Solomon in the Proverbs frontispieces of the Arsenal Bible. But the painterly style which emphasizes the three-dimensional form of the figure is even closer to the angels in the headpiece of the Perugia Missal, with their sophisticated modeling and the handling of the face and eyes. It is also notable that the diminutive size of these fresco images is only slightly larger than the images in these manuscripts, making their close formal relationship even more striking.

75. (left below) **Istanbul, Kalenderhane Djami fresco fragments: Chapel of St. Francis, woman in green and yellow striped garment (maximum width dimension: 5.6 cm)**
This image of a woman is from one of the miracles of St. Francis. The parallel with the figure of Judith in the frontispiece miniature of the Arsenal Bible, in her blue and yellow garment, was noted immediately when these fresco fragments came to light. This is another important point of similarity which links the work of the fresco painter from Constantinople with the artists of the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal.

Monastery, or elsewhere in the Crusader States, that is, in Tyre, in Tripoli, or in Antioch, or even on Cyprus. The fact is, the St. Francis frescoes may be the main evidence we have for any Crusader Art *in situ* in the 1240s, anywhere in the Latin East.

When Louis IX left Acre in April 1254, peace reigned in the Latin Kingdom, but not for long. In May Conrad IV Hohenstaufen died and the crown of Jerusalem passed to his two-year-old son, Conradin. A new regent was appointed, John of Ibelin, who was Count of Jaffa. He also later became the author of the *Livre des Assises*, the most important Crusader legal text written in the thirteenth century. A new truce was arranged with the Muslims in 1255, but internally a new and dangerous war that had been simmering for several years now broke out in the Latin Kingdom.

Known as "the War of St. Sabas," this conflict was ostensibly between the Genoese and the Venetians. In Acre the battle focused on claims they both had on the Monastery of St. Sabas located between their two quarters; the main violence flared between 1256 and 1258 (see above, Map 11).

On a larger scale this conflict reflected a long struggle among the Italian maritime powers for commercial dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the Latin Kingdom the fight opened old wounds created during the civil war of 1229 to 1243. The factions that formed included some old and new alignments. Supporting the Genoese we find, e.g., the Hospitallers, the Catalans, the Anconitans, and the Greek Orthodox, while on the Venetian side there were the Templars, the Pisans, the merchants of Marseilles, the Teutonic Knights, and the confraternities of the city.

The effects of this war were far-reaching in the Latin Kingdom: part of central Acre was devastated, and even though an uneasy truce between the Genoese and Venetians was reached in 1258, hostilities went on for another ten years off and on. Because of a great naval victory by the Venetians off the coast of Acre in 1258, the Genoese were forced to leave Acre and retired to their quarter in Tyre, so that Venice and Pisa became the dominant maritime powers in the Crusader capital. Genoa was still powerful, however, and when the Byzantines, led by Michael Palaeologus, recaptured Constantinople in 1261, Genoa won preferential trading privileges there and in the Empire. It is said that because of the hostilities and the devastation in Acre, the minting of gold coins ceased there after 1258. That is not to say that no Crusader gold coinage is found later; in Tripoli, the *agnus dei bezant*, a beautiful Crusader issue originally produced in Acre, very rarely discovered today, apparently continued to be produced.[12]

As destructive as the War of St. Sabas was, not all of the results of the war were bad. In 1258 a major agreement was reached by the masters of the three great military orders by which all disputes between and among the members of their orders could be resolved by peaceful means. This agreement took effect immediately and was to be recited by the members of all the orders in their Chapter meetings every year. As a result, all manner of disputes would be resolved by a system of negotiation and arbitration, and members of one order would also protect members of another order from violence; together they would face the enemy defined as the heathen. This agreement effectively eliminated the divisive rivalry among the military orders that had caused so many difficulties in the past.

It is clear that this agreement and the cessation of the most egregious hostilities due to the War of St. Sabas came at an important moment for the Latin Kingdom, when external threats to the Crusaders were growing from the Muslims and from the Mongols. In February of 1258 the Mongols had conquered Baghdad, and moved on into Syria, taking Aleppo and Damascus by March of 1260. Nothing seemed capable of stopping the Mongol onslaught. But as they moved westward, the Mamluk Sultan, Qutuz, confronted them at Ain Jalud, east-south-east of the Crusader castle of Belvoir on the west bank of the Jordan River. The Mongols were defeated here in one of the pivotal battles of Near Eastern Medieval history, on September 3, 1260, and their general, Kitbuga, was killed. A month later, one of the Mamluk commanders, Baybars, assassinated Qutuz and seized power as the army marched back to Cairo. Acclaimed as the new Sultan in October, Baybars was immediately forced to face a new Mongol threat at Homs in Syria, east of the Crusader castle of Crac des Chevaliers. On December 10, 1260, Baybars scored a second decisive victory over the Mongols led by Hulagu. With this defeat, the Mongols were eventually forced to retreat back over the Euphrates River, and Baybars was well on his way to taking control of full power in both Muslim Egypt and Syria. The Crusaders would soon learn that an-Nasir Rukn ad-Din Baybars al-Bunduqdari was the most powerful and ruthless Muslim opponent they had ever faced.

Meanwhile in Acre, new artistic works of painting were being commissioned that reflected these developments, some very directly. The surprising thing is that these works were no longer primarily manuscripts; they were especially icons, paintings on panels. These icons are today mostly preserved in the priceless collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. There are two pivotal works that, in particular, give us timely insight into the new world of Crusader Art as expressed in icons in the mid-thirteenth century. They are both larger and more complex than the single, mostly devotional panels we have previously seen. These new icons are, first, a medium-sized triptych that is nonetheless portable and must have been used as a kind of altarpiece by the Crusaders, and second, an iconostasis beam

76. The Acre Triptych, Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai: (central panel) Virgin and Child enthroned with Angels (56.8 x 47.7 cm) This Crusader image of the Virgin and Child seems to have been inspired by an earlier Byzantine example still found in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai. The striking differences are that the use of chrysography, so prevalent in the Byzantine example, is used here to focus attention on the holy child Jesus, and the artist's style seems to be strongly linked to painting done in the circle of Guido da Siena in central Italy. Thus the Tuscano-Byzantine Crusader style of this artist suggests new Italian-inspired work in Acre along with the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal. The imagery of the child, with his spirituality and his humanity strongly stated visually in golden highlighting and pose and gesture, reflects the growth of a rich diversity of artists in Acre at this time.

that is not portable, and was intended for a very specific chapel setting. Both of these icons date from the years 1258–1260 as we shall argue, and both of them demonstrate new and important aspects in the development of Crusader Art after 1250.

The "Acre Triptych" consists of a rectangular central panel, 57 x 48 cm, which contains an enthroned Virgin and Child, flanked by two angels[13] (fig. 76). Two rectangular wings open to reveal four scenes of the life of the Virgin. Reading top down on the right inner wing we find the scene of Mary and Joseph finding the young Jesus discoursing with the learned men in the Temple, and below, the

77. The Acre Triptych, Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai: (inner wing, left side) Coronation of the Virgin and Dormition of the Virgin (53.7 x 21.7 cm)
This inner wing dramatically demonstrates that artists working in more than one style were commissioned to do this important triptych. Here the French Gothic imagery of the Coronation of the Virgin as well as the Byzantine imagery of the Dormition reflect the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style seen earlier in the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal. Clearly this second artist was closely related to the manuscript workshops newly flourishing in Acre, which had been revitalized by the patronage of King Louis IX.

78. The Acre Triptych, Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai: (outer wing, right side) St. John the Baptist (53.8 x 21.0 cm)
This outer wing presents a very different style from the inner wing. It is another style with strong Italianate links, reflecting a precisely designed, strongly linear Veneto-Byzantine style which also differs from the central panel. Thus we find at least three artists working on this triptych, indicating both interesting patronage and the availability of numerous different artists which reflect a flourishing painting establishment in the 1250s and 1260s in Acre.

Threnos, that is, the Virgin mourning the dead Jesus, surrounded by friends and associates. Reading bottom up on the left inner wing we see the Dormition, that is, the death of the Virgin, and above, the Coronation of the Virgin in heaven by Christ (fig. 77). When these wings are folded shut, forming a very compact portable work, we find that there are two standing saints under arches on the outer surfaces of those wings. On the right wing there is an image of St. John the Baptist in his hairshirt (fig. 78). On the left side is St. Nicholas dressed as a western bishop. Given the size of this triptych, it could have functioned as, in effect, an altarpiece for a small chapel. What is distinctive about this Crusader triptych is both its imagery – each separate image has certain special features – and the variety and characteristics of the artistic styles, which indicate that at least three Crusader artists with different backgrounds worked on this project.

The Virgin and Child enthroned represents one of the major Christian cult images of the thirteenth century, east or west. In this case the Crusader artist has brought together a standard Byzantinizing approach with multiple western details that no doubt reflect the desires of the patron and the temperament of the artist. In this glimpse of heaven, the large-headed Virgin in her dark navy blue maphorion, also wearing a purple-green tunic and scarlet buskins, holds an active baby Jesus. His garments alone are resplendently covered in chrysography – golden highlighting – a treatment that spotlights his preeminent spiritual importance. Whereas the Byzantinizing pose – it is the traditional *Hodegetria* type, where the Virgin gestures to Christ as the savior and inclines her head toward him in reverence – and costume of the Virgin are clearly eastern, the pose of the active and bare-footed baby Jesus, who grasps his mother's hand and reaches up to touch her veil, is engagingly child-like, and entirely western in spirit. Put together with the style of this Virgin, seen especially in the large face with the big eyes, heavy brows, long nose, and tiny mouth, a style closely parallel to the work of the Madonna del Voto Master, a painter who worked in the circle of the well-known Italian artist, Guido da Siena, in the mid-thirteenth century, this artist seems to be working in a monumental Tuscano-Byzantine Crusader style.

The overall idea of the full-length Virgin and Child enthroned with angels seen here is Byzantine in origin, but there are many additional features of this image that are specifically western. The strange rectangular shape of the throne, the golden "bead and polygon" pattern on its border, the checkerboard floor inserted below instead of a footstool, and the remarkable tooling of the gold ground with striated lozenges and decorative punch marks – all of this seems linked with Italian developments and may have been specified by the patron.

The inner wings with the four scenes depicting scenes in the life of the Virgin with Christ are also Crusader work, but done by an artist in a very different Franco-Byzantine Crusader style. In fact these images are very strongly related in their figural design, their painterly drapery style, and their rolling, spectacled eyes to the miniatures in the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal. These four scenes are notable also because of the choices made; two are very Byzantine: the Threnos and the Dormition, and two are very western: the scene of Christ with the Doctors in the Temple, very unusual in any case, and the Coronation of the Virgin, which is quintessentially French Gothic. The way the scenes are represented is important as well. They appear not in the Byzantine iconic manner, but rather in a narrative mode that puts the emphasis on sympathetic and affective devotional participation. Even the strongly Byzantinizing images reflect this interest. The Threnos expresses a strongly emotional tenor, while the Dormition features a dynamic figure of Christ in the midst of other active figures. Indeed Christ is so intent on receiving the soul of the Virgin that he almost steps out of the mandorla that surrounds him! Finally, we note also how this second Crusader artist embellishes the gold ground and haloes of these scenes with gilded raised gesso pastiglia, a technique that creates an elegant, textured goldsmith-like articulation to all the golden surfaces.

Finally, on the outside of these two wings we have monumental icons of two major saints, St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas, revered throughout the Christian world. Both figures stand under high, round arches, set on wide-leaf foliate capitals reminiscent of work we have seen from the town church at 'Atlit, probably done, as we have seen, in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. John clearly

follows the Byzantine imagery of this saint, a hairy, ascetic figure with wild unkempt hair wearing only his hairshirt. But John also carries an attribute, a medallion on which the *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God, is depicted, a strongly western iconography forbidden in Byzantium since 692. The appearance of this image, long known in the west since Early Christian times, may owe itself, however, to two contemporary factors in Acre. One is the extensive use of the *Agnus Dei* on the seals of the military orders, especially the Templars, in the thirteenth century. The second is the appearance, mentioned above, of a new golden bezant with this imagery of the paschal lamb holding the banner of salvation on Acre coinage, apparently in response to the preaching of Eudes de Châteauroux in 1251, and the directive of Pope Innocent IV against the minting of coins with Muslim inscriptions by the Crusaders[14] (fig. 79).

St. Nicholas is an equally composite Crusader interpretation. The bishop we see here is a western, Latin rite bishop, no longer Nicholas of Myra in Asia Minor, but, in effect, Bishop Nicholas of Bari, where his relics were taken in 1087 to save them from the Muslim occupation of Myra. His miter, chasuble and pallium are clearly western, as is his exquisite crozier in black and white inlay, like the *opus tessellatum* floors in medieval Venice. There are, however, certain eastern details that remind the viewer of his eastern origin, namely the fact that he is blessing with his fingers held in the Greek manner to form the letters of the name of Jesus, and his beautiful red chasuble is covered with the newly popular *çintamani* design – the three circles in a triangular configuration – indicating sumptuous silk fabric and very probably derived from Mongol pictorial or textile sources.

79. Golden *Agnus Dei* Bezant, minted in Acre
This bezant, with the image of the Lamb of God on the obverse, includes an inscription which quotes the words of the prayer taken from the liturgy: "Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world." It is clearly a coin that reflected a new effort to bring Christian motifs to Crusader coinage in Acre in the 1250s. It is also comparable to, if not exactly the same as, the medallion image held by St. John the Baptist on the exterior wing of the Acre Triptych.

Two things are evident about these standing figures. First their presentation is different from the scenes on the interior of the triptych because they are set against red, not golden backgrounds, and even though their haloes are done in the gilded raised gesso technique, they have linked lozenges and studs as the primary patterns. Second, the style of these two figures differs from the styles of either artist who worked on the interior of the triptych. These two figures seem to have been done by an artist working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, one that is linear and precise with strong modeling in the faces, and effective if less emphatic three-dimensionality in the bodies. As we shall see later, there are a group of icons in a very similar style closely related to these figures that belong to what we call the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints."[15]

The result is that with this triptych we find an extraordinary work done by three different artists, one working in a Tuscano-Byzantine Crusader style, another in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, and the third in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. Why is this? Is this just a typical Crusader work with three artists from different backgrounds joining forces in an Acre workshop? Or is this combination of three artists working together evidence for a special commission by some important patron to produce a richly multicultural triptych, in just the way the Melisende Psalter in 1135 with its six artists was a special royal commission for the Queen?

There is some artistic evidence to place the date of this triptych in the 1250s, as we have seen above. Historically, there is also the possibility that this unusual combination of styles might have to do with the victorious participants in the War of St. Sabas. It is at least plausible that when the conflict ended in 1258, this triptych might have been commissioned by a patron directly or indirectly celebrating that event. That patron might even have been a confraternity in Acre which counted men of Italian and French birth or ancestry in their organization. Such confraternities had existed in the Latin Kingdom since the twelfth century, but were especially active in Acre in the thirteenth century. Confraternities are well known to have commissioned altarpieces with monumental images of the Virgin and Child enthroned in Italy in the thirteenth century. Possibly a

local confraternity was doing something similar here in Acre, between 1258 and 1260?

The second icon project that reflects historical developments related to Acre is an iconostasis beam with 13 scenes of the Life of Christ, that is, the standard 12 scenes of the Byzantine liturgical *Dodekaorta*, plus the image of the Last Supper.[16] This small beam, overall 2.253 m wide x 29 cm high, in three segments is now in the Monastery of St. Catherine, but originally it may have been intended for a chapel in Damascus. An iconostasis beam like this would have been placed on the templon screen of a church or chapel, the screen that separated the sanctuary with the altar from the nave. The artist of this screen used a good Byzantine model as his source, but like the Triptych discussed above, virtually every one of the 13 scenes has special features that indicate its Crusader production. We recognize immediately, for example, the distinctive Crucifixion iconography found earlier in the Perugia and Egerton Missals, and the earlier single-panel Crusader icon. The Crusader artist's style here, however, is different from those examples, with sturdy, thickset and weighty figures done in a very painterly style. The figure style with voluminous folds and painterly highlights seems very similar to the work on a later diptych now in Bern, but originally painted in Venice. This suggests strongly that here we see a second Venetian-inspired Crusader style, a softer, more broadly brushed, painterly version of the more sharply defined, strongly linear Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style seen on the outer wings of the Acre Triptych.

The Crucifixion panel is joined by the other 12 scenes in exhibiting certain distinctive characteristics found in a number of Crusader icons now at Mt. Sinai. The border of the beam is painted with linked golden diamonds separated by two white circles on a solid black ground, a standard Crusader framing design that seems parallel to Tuscan types in the thirteenth century. We also note that there is no raised gesso pastiglia in the golden haloes and backgrounds, but rather the gold is burnished in a special way to create notable curved or circular luminous effects. In fact we see that some of these curved circular designs appear as if "floating" on the gold ground around and above the figures, in effect suggesting that the golden light was somehow "charged" with divine energy. We even find these burnished "bubble-like" forms occasionally appearing in the haloes of the figures, like the angel Gabriel in the scene of the Annunciation. This special technique appears to be tied somehow to St. Catherine's Monastery icons, appearing in both Byzantine and Crusader icons. But it is not clear if the technique was practiced only at Mt. Sinai, or if it could not have been executed also at Acre by monk-artists who had lived and trained at the Monastery, and were perhaps working in the dependency of St. Catherine in the Crusader capital.

One other notable feature of this beam in particular seems to be the fact that it was left unfinished. Separating most of the images one finds a red divider element with a simple cable design indicated in white. The last nine scenes all have this divider, but the first four scenes do not. What could possibly explain the unfinished state of this iconostasis beam? It is a question we will keep in mind while looking in detail at another image.

There are numerous notable features in the iconography of these scenes that indicate how the Crusader artist is taking a basic Byzantine image and altering it with certain special details. One of the scenes, the image of the Nativity, has very remarkable iconography, however (fig. 80). Analyzed closely it will enable us to suggest the circumstances of production and a reason for the unfinished condition of the beam.[17]

In the Nativity scene we find the typical Byzantine iconography of the Virgin with the Child in a cave grotto. There are four angels above, one of whom announces the coming of the messiah to a shepherd at the right. Below, two midwives give the Child his first bath, and to the right Joseph is seated looking up at the scene above. In this icon, as in many eastern icons, the Three Magi are represented as part of the Nativity, but here the Magi are given remarkable, indeed unique identification. The artist does not show these Magi as eastern savants in Persian dress, typical in the Byzantine tradition, nor are they shown as kings, which is the standard iconography in western Europe. Instead the oldest Magus is shown with a long white beard, and he wears a brilliant red garment and holds a golden vessel as his gift. The other two Magi are both given short beards and

appear more middle-aged. The second figure wears an Italianate ermine-trimmed cap; he is looking back at the third Magus. The third Magus is standing directly behind the first one; he holds another golden vessel, but he clearly has a Mongol physiognomy and wears a Mongol cap. These men clearly do not look like the usual Magi; who might they be?

I suggest these Magi are given unusual and particular iconographic indications to help us recognize the oldest Magus as King Hetoum I of Armenia, the second Magus as Count Bohemond VI of Tripoli and Antioch, and the third Magus as the Mongol General, Kitbuga. Kitbuga was the Nestorian Christian Mongol general who conquered Damascus in early 1260. In this situation both Hetoum I and Bohemond VI made peaceful overtures to Kitbuga to win a diplomatic alliance with him. As a result, according to "The Templar of Tyre," an anonymous Crusader chronicler, Kitbuga invited the Armenian King and the Crusader Count to ride with him in triumph into Damascus in March of 1260.[18] Recognizing their images here, one well-known art historian has written, "with the portrait of Kitbuga, the Nativity picture becomes an expression of the oecumenical hopes of the Pope, St. Louis, and all the Crusaders that an alliance with the Mongols would be a first step toward making Christianity the world religion."[19] Kitbuga was believed at the time to be descended from one of the three Wise Men from the East.

If this is the correct explanation for this remarkable Nativity scene, why was this iconostasis beam commissioned and for what purpose? We know that when the triumvirate rode into Damascus, Kitbuga is reported by the Templar of Tyre to have given Count Bohemond VI and his soldiers a place of worship. It was a former Byzantine church that had been transformed into a mosque, and now it would become a Christian church for Christians in Damascus, whether they be Crusaders, eastern Christians, or pilgrims. I propose that the iconostasis beam was made for use in this church. The commission was made in Acre or on Mt. Sinai in the Monastery of St. Catherine, and the work was carried out at Sinai, but the painting stopped abruptly near the end.

The reason work may have stopped is that the church in Damascus for which it was intended was very soon back in Muslim hands. On September 3, 1260, just six months after the conquest, the Mamluks won a great victory over the Mongols at Ain Jalud after which the Muslims immediately regained power in Syria. Kitbuga had been killed at Ain Jalud, and as a result the hope of making a lasting alliance with him and with the Armenians was gone. The ambitious dreams the Crusaders had to conquer the Near East and retake the Holy City of Jerusalem, in addition to making Christianity the dominant world religion, were now fading. Neither the efforts of the Christian missionaries to the Far East, nor the remarkable contacts made by Marco Polo with Kubilai Khan, nor the Crusader encounter with the Mongols in Syria succeeded in converting the Mongols.

One result of all this seems to be that the iconostasis beam, the icon originally commissioned in 1260 for the church in Damascus, was left unfinished and never reached its intended destination. Instead, it apparently remained in the Monastery of St. Catherine's, the place where it was painted, its original purpose forgotten and the meaning of the special imagery on the beam lost and unrecognized for centuries.

These two major icons are also joined by small panels in various Crusader styles done for more conventional devotional practices. Remembering that we have such a significant revival of manuscript illumination in Acre in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style exemplified by the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal, it is perhaps not surprising to find a number of icons in this style also apparently done in the 1250s. There is for example, a charming icon of the

80. (opposite) Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: iconostasis beam (detail), Nativity scene combined with the Adoration of the Magi (28.9 cm high)

This image is of typically eastern composition. The Byzantine imagery of the Cave Grotto at Bethlehem is combined with a very unusual iconography of the three Magi. In effect these Magi are given certain portrait-like traits that identify them as particular historical characters. The eldest figure is King Hetoum I of Armenia, the central figure in the Italianate cap is Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, and the Mongol figure at the right is the Nestorian Christian general, Kitbuga. The conjunction of these three historical figures suggests that the commission for this beam was made in March of 1260.

Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*.[20] The icon exhibits all the features of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, with the ample figural forms, the painterly draperies and flesh tones, the rolling, spectacled eyes. The gilded background is covered with the raised gesso pastiglia technique. And the warm relationship of the mother and child radiates out of what is otherwise iconographically a characteristically Byzantine bust-length type of this cult image. A second icon in the same style and technique exhibits the Virgin and Child standing full length with three holy figures. This iconographic type of the Virgin is different and site-specific, linked to Mt. Sinai. It is the Byzantine image of the Virgin, η τησ βατου, "of the [Burning] Bush," in which she touches, not really holds, the young Jesus who is suspended in front of her symbolically as a weightless, spiritualized being – a manifestation of his divinity.[21] That imagery along with the appearance of Moses and Elijah, Old Testament figures uniquely connected with Sinai, suggest that this icon was in all probability made in the Monastery of St. Catherine for use there. It seems to indicate that the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style exhibited by its artist could be found in both Acre and Sinai in the 1250s, evidence of a remarkable artistic link at the two ends of one of the most important pilgrimage routes in the thirteenth century.

There are other icons done in this style, including two which represent mounted soldier saints. One is an icon of St. George saving the youth of Mytilene, now in the British Museum.[22] Another is an icon with Sts. Theodore and Demetrios riding two very spirited horses. In contrast to Mt. Sinai as a holy site with the Burning Bush, Lydda, southeast of Jaffa, was the holy site associated with St. George, the site of his tomb.

Could this icon of St. George have been painted at Lydda? Perhaps, but in this case the iconography is not as site-specific as we saw with the Virgin and Child η τησ βατου icon. Note that there is no tomb, only the image of St. George with the youth of Mytilene, imagery which also appears elsewhere, e.g., in a tiny chapel outside the walls of Crac des Chevaliers. Possibly a pilgrim to Lydda had this icon painted in Acre to commemorate his visit there.

The popularity of icons depicting mounted soldier saints continues to be an important feature of Crusader painting not only in the 1250s, but also in the 1260s. In fact there are two well-known examples done in a different style, a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, which have been attributed to artists painting in an atelier named from these impressive icons, the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints." What are these two icons, and where were they done?

The first icon is large, 94 x 63 cm, and bilateral, depicting Sts. Sergios and Bacchos in full armor on the reverse, preserved in excellent condition (fig. 81). On the obverse we find an image of the bust-length Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*, done in the same sharply defined, strongly linear style as the reverse, but seriously damaged. The second icon is much smaller, 29 x 23 cm, and painted only on one side, with an image of St. Sergios below which a female worshipper is kneeling (fig. 82).

It is immediately evident how different this pair of soldier saint icons is as compared to the earlier examples we have seen, whether the Sts. Theodore and George of *c.* 1225 (see fig. 65), or the Sts. Theodore and Demetrios of the 1250s. It is not only the style which is different, but also, especially, the iconography. In these two later icons the red cross Crusader standards are much larger, and the soldiers are heavily armed – they carry more weapons. In particular, remarkably, they are equipped with bows and arrows – arrows that are carried in elaborately decorated box quivers, arranged with their tips up.

The presence of the bows and arrows seems to indicate that these saints are represented not just as generic soldiers imitating Byzantine examples, but as a particular type of soldier, as a *turcopole*. *Turcopoles* were often native cavalry, frequently armed with bows and arrows, who fought with both Crusader and Byzantine armies. We find them at this time serving as contingents with the Hospitallers, the Templars, and with the Teutonic Knights. Other aspects of their special Crusader iconography are also shared, like the diadems they wear, their pearl dot haloes, their cross decorated saddles, the long tunics, their leggings, and the tack on their horses. But each icon also includes special imagery worth noting here.

Sts. Sergios and Bacchos (see above, fig. 81), for example, wear torques around their neck. The torques are quite unusual details drawn from Byzantine imagery, in which

81. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: bilateral icon (reverse), Sts. Sergios and Bacchos (94.2 x 62.8 cm)

This icon is much larger – over 94 cm high – than the other images with mounted soldier saints we have already seen (figs. 49, 65) or the one we are comparing it with here (fig. 82). It is the reverse of a bilateral icon which has the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* on the obverse. The imagery is remarkable in combining basic Byzantine types complete with special iconography, such as the gold torques around their necks, with Crusader visual vocabulary, e.g. the red cross banner, the diadems, and the pearl dot haloes, and with eastern imagery such as the Persian-inspired quiver with arrows, which originally may go back to eighth-century paintings in Qyzil in the Turfan area along the Silk Road. These soldiers are meant to be understood to be light-armed cavalry officers, known in the thirteenth century Crusader East as *turcopoles*.

Sergios and Bacchos, as Roman soldiers of the fourth century are indicated as serving in the imperial bodyguard. Like the paired saints, the individual St. Sergios (see above, fig. 82) has a billowing scarlet cloak, but only his cloak is decorated with the distinctive design of *çintamani*, the three discs arranged in a triangular configuration. It is the distinctive quivers for the arrows, and the *çintamani* design that appears to indicate Mongol influence on these representations of the soldier saints for the first time. In origin the quiver design seems to come from eighth-century frescoes in Qyzil in the Turfan area along the silk road. The *çintamani* design may have reached the Crusaders from the Mongols by means of luxury silks, or possibly from paintings in manuscripts which depict various figures wearing costumes decorated which this design.[23] None of the earlier Crusader panels with the soldier saints has this eastern iconography.

In both cases here we are looking at images of St. Sergios, a saint closely identified with al-Rusafa in Syria. This was of course the town where he was martyred, and where his relics were preserved. Indeed the city was named for him in Greek, Sergiopolis, and he was apparently revered as a patron saint there by the native Syrian Christian population. The Frankish woman who reverences the foot of St. Sergios in the smaller icon may well have been the wife, or the mother, or the widow of a *turcopole* who came from al-Rusafa. In 1260 it was a town held by the Mongols briefly, before it was taken back by the Mamluks after the battle of Ain Jalud.

82. (opposite) Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: icon, St. Sergios mounted with female donor figure below (28.7 x 23.2 cm)
This icon is less than a third as high as the image with the pair of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos (fig. 81). The imagery of the soldier here is similar to the paired saints, but with one major ornamental difference: the cloak of Sergios is covered with the *çintamani* design. He also carries a round shield and there is a Frankish female supplicant at his feet. The presence of the eastern *çintamani* design, probably Mongol-inspired, like the scroll pattern on the frame of the icon would seem to be traceable to the commission of the patron. In this case the woman is unnamed, but she might have been the mother, widow, sister, daughter or friend of a Crusader *turcopole*. The Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of this artist can be seen in other icons now at Sinai as well as in paintings from the Monastery of Kaftoun in the County of Tripoli, now Lebanon.

So, where might these icons have been done? It would be tempting to think that these Crusader artists might have worked in Syria, given the fact that numerous images of mounted soldier saints exist in fresco painting still extant in Syrian sites, all of which must have been done by local Christian painters at, for example, Mar Musa al-Habashi near Nebek, or at Qara, both sites located mid-way between Damascus and Homs. In the case of the two icons, even though St. Sergios is closely linked to al-Rusafa, a town east of Aleppo, it is not likely that these icons were done there. This city, unlike Lydda, was for one thing, not under Crusader control, and Acre is a much more likely place of origin for several reasons.

First, we have found the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of these icons present in Acre as early as *c.* 1258–1260 on the exterior wings of the Acre Triptych. Second, Acre was unquestionably the military center of the Latin Kingdom, where soldiers on Crusade expeditions disembarked, where armies formed before starting operations, and where the three most important military orders, the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, had major headquarters. Third, Acre was also the most important commercial city in the Latin Kingdom, a place where there must have been flourishing markets for luxury goods coming both from the east along the silk roads, and from inland Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and from the west, that is, from Constantinople, Venice, and Europe. Acre was indeed the largest city in the Crusader States, a major urban center with flourishing artistic workshops, with resident patrons, pilgrim patrons, and ecclesiastical patrons. In fact, based on the evidence of the works we have seen, these patrons must have included the aristocracy; the Italian merchants; ecclesiastics such as bishops, abbots, priests, monks, nuns, and soldiers, including soldiers in the military orders, and members of the resident Frankish bourgeois: men and women, members of confraternities. We have seen evidence of patronage by the men in these orders already, at the castles of, for example, Belvoir, Chastel Pelerin, Crac des Chevaliers, Montfort, and Safed. With this small devotional icon of St. Sergios, we also see evidence for women patrons with the explicit depiction of a woman donor at the feet of the saint. It is an important indication that women were

83. Houston, Menil Foundation: icon, St. Marina (20.4 x 15.8 cm)
In contrast to the style of the icon of the paired soldier saints (fig. 82) this icon exhibits a more abstract and conservative "Romanesqueizing" style that seems to link this work especially with the County of Tripoli. Here we see a painting which I have described elsewhere as "the work of a Syrian artist painting in the current mode c. 1250 with a knowledge of developments in Cyprus, and painting in his homeland south of Tripoli in the service of the cult of St. Marina." St. Marina, here the eastern female saint Marina of Syria, was specially venerated at a grotto site just south of Tripoli. The icon appears to have been commissioned by a pilgrim to the holy site where Marina had lived her holy life disguised as a male monk.

involved as patrons, Frankish women, Italian women, and local Christians who were women, intermarried with Crusaders or not.[24]

Other icons also seem to have been done in Acre in the 1260s in what we are calling the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints." There is a small icon with three standing soldier saints, Sts. George, Theodore, and Demetrios, all three wearing garments decorated with the newly popular *çintamani* design. *Çintamani* also appears on the imperial robe of St. Catherine, who stands paired with the figure of St. Marina on another small icon in this same style. And a third icon with St. Simeon Stylites and St. Barbara paired frontally also belongs to this group.[25] These last three icons are linked not only by their figure style done apparently by artists in a common Acre workshop, but also by the use of certain ornament. In these three cases besides the *çintamani* on the first two, there is also a representational type of embroidery, black on gold, that is found on the figures of St. Barbara, St. Catherine, and the three standing soldier saints. This appears to be further evidence for the interest these Crusader artists manifest in textile designs and replicate in their paintings.

Not all of the Crusader icons we have from this period of the 1250s and 1260s come from Acre or Sinai, however. A handsome small icon of a bust-length St. Marina is found today in the collection of the Menil Foundation in Houston[26] (fig. 83). Although the artist is following basic Byzantine imagery for this saint, she is represented with certain special Crusader features. Her brilliant red maphorion is decorated with three star-shaped ornaments and she holds a double-barred cross, reminding us of the True Cross imagery seen earlier. Underneath the maphorion she has a bright blue coif. There is raised gesso pastiglia on the gilded background but the dominant ornament in the halo and on her cuffs are thick golden studs.

In style her large head and extremely long pointy fingers, as well as the flat patterned forms of her drapery are different from any style found in Acre or Sinai. Indeed, this St. Marina is different from the usual St. Marina of Antioch in Pisidia found in Byzantine art, known as St. Margaret in the West. This is St. Marina of Syria, a female saint who lived her life disguised as a monk in the Monastery of Deir el-Qannoubine in what was, in the Crusader period, the County of Tripoli, and what is today, Lebanon. This icon appears to be "Crusader" in the sense that the style of the work shares the multicultural characteristics of Crusader painting elsewhere, that is, a Byzantine type combined with a somewhat western-inspired aspect. The latter is seen in its Romanesqueizing drapery design, that in fact evokes certain work on Cyprus at this time. But the artist is probably Syrian, working for a Crusader patron, in the vicinity of Tripoli where the shrine of Mar Marina was located. Mar Marina is the grotto, today in ruins, where remnants of frescoes survive commemorating this St. Marina.

There is another important icon of this type known as the "Kaftoun Madonna" that has recently come to light, named for the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Kaftoun, southeast of Tripoli and not far from Mar Marina. It is actually a bilateral icon on which one artist, the more elegant of the two, did the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* on the obverse, while a second artist, working in a simpler style that also may be found in the tiny angels in medallions on the obverse, did the Baptism of Christ. Everyone who has studied the Kaftoun bilateral icon, seems to agree that the closest parallel with the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* image on the obverse is that of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* Sinai image on the obverse of the bilateral icon in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style discussed above, although they were done by different artists. The differences are slight, but they are important because in a highly traditional art like icon painting many images look similar, and small distinctions can be very significant for both meaning and content as well as with regard to the identification of the artist.[27]

It is not impossible that these two artists worked in the same workshop in Acre at one time. However, I do not think the Kaftoun Virgin artist worked in Acre when he did this icon. It is much more likely, as I see the evidence, that the Kaftoun bilateral icon was done in the region of Tripoli, possibly even in the monastery of Kaftoun, under the influence of work from the major Crusader center in Acre in this case. The challenge here is to understand whether the Kaftoun Virgin was done by a Crusader artist, or by a Syrian artist working for the local Orthodox Monastery under the influence of Crusader style.

84. Mellon Madonna, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., icon (84.0 x 53.0 cm)

This work is remarkable for its enormous round-backed ivory throne, its strongly Gothic-inspired color scheme for the Virgin's garments especially, and for the intense program of chrysography which covers the figures and the furniture with a network of complex golden highlighting. This image of the Virgin as the "Sedes Sapientiae," the Seat of Holy Wisdom, is an original creation of this Crusader artist, who appears to have worked on Cyprus in the second half of the thirteenth century. This icon demonstrates that first-rate Crusader work was being done there as well as on the mainland of Syria–Palestine, work in which the union of Byzantine and western traditions was pursued just as energetically as in the Latin Kingdom, albeit with somewhat different results.

85. Kahn Madonna, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., icon (1.23 m x 72 cm)
This is obviously linked to the Mellon Madonna in terms of certain basic aspects of design. The Kahn Madonna seems to have been done in Constantinople by a Crusader artist just before the return of the Palaeologan dynasty in 1261, and slightly before the Mellon Madonna was executed on Cyprus somewhat later in the century. The technique of the Kahn Madonna reflects the practice of a Crusader artist thoroughly trained in the methods of Byzantine icon painting, unlike the Mellon Madonna which only imitates what such icons look like. The Kahn Madonna has been called "one of the most Byzantinizing images of all crusader panel paintings."

Given the vigorous painting activity in the County of Tripoli and neighboring Syria during the period up to the fall of Tripoli in 1289 in Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox or Jacobite, Syrian Melchite, and Maronite churches as argued by various scholars, it is not surprising to find evidence of icon painting as well as frescoes in this region by local Christians. The problem has been to find the paintings in question. It appears that the Kaftoun icon may be one important example of what there was, along with the icon of St. Marina discussed above. The Kaftoun icon is a very important example because of how closely it is stylistically related to one of the important Crusader styles in Acre at this time. The most recent discoveries in this region have been two churches with fresco painting in the same style as the Kaftoun Madonna. As research goes forward, it appears that this ensemble of icon and fresco painting will now allow us to identify an important center of Crusader painting in the County of Tripoli.

The case of the Kaftoun Virgin as an icon reflecting Crusader style but not produced in Acre or St. Catherine's Monastery is not an isolated one. Two other famous examples which represent important variations on this theme are found in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the Mellon and Kahn Madonnas.[28] The Mellon Madonna is a large icon, 84 x 53 cm, depicting the Virgin and Child enthroned full length accompanied by two bust-length angels in small medallions above (fig. 84). This work, well known in the United States since it became part of the national collection, features striking Crusader characteristics. For example, we see a basic Byzantinizing *Hodegetria* type along with dramatic Gothic-inspired blue and red garments for the Virgin, the use of intensive golden highlighting – chrysography – on the figures and the furniture, and the depiction of a monumental curved-back throne that evokes the idea of the ivory throne of Solomon. It indicates an innovative presentation of the well-known western tradition of the Virgin as the *Sedes Sapientiae*, the Seat of Wisdom. This work has recently been attributed to Crusader Cyprus in the period between *c.* 1260 and 1285.

Closely related to it is the equally famous Kahn Madonna, an even larger icon, 123 x 72 cm, which also has the full-length Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* seated full length on a square-backed carpentered throne with, again, a pair of bust-length angels in small medallions above (fig. 85). Here we see a work which has long been recognized as closely similar to the Mellon Madonna, but again the distinctions are crucially important. This work demonstrates that the artist was more deeply trained in the Byzantine tradition in style and technique than the Mellon Madonna painter, who was imitating both very carefully, but succeeding less completely by contrast. The Kahn Madonna painter uses a much more Byzantinizing color palette, and his facial style resembles mosaics of the Deësis in the Church of Haghia Sophia in Constantinople. But certain Crusader characteristics demonstrate that he was not a Byzantine artist nonetheless: we see the diagonal position of the Virgin suggesting a sculpturesque three-dimensionality producing a greater humanity in the representation of the Virgin and Child in concert with Crusader tastes, a beautiful interpretation of sophisticated and highly decorative Byzantine drapery forms in terms of western conventions, such as the "v"-fold formula of drapery under the left leg of Christ, and details like the western blessing gesture of Christ. This elegant cult image of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* can be attributed to an impressive Crusader painter working in Constantinople *c.* 1260, that is, shortly before the fall of the Latin Empire and the Byzantine restoration.

The vigorous production of icons by Crusader artists, often for Crusader patrons, is a remarkable feature of artistic developments in the 1250s and 1260s in the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli. It is all the more remarkable when we think of the fact that we have no real evidence, liturgical or otherwise, that indicates specifically how these icons were used in the context of the Latin liturgy employed by the Crusaders. What seems apparent is that the Crusaders greatly admired the Greek Orthodox and local eastern Christian artistic achievements in icon painting and sought to enrich their religious life and services with these impressive holy images. The result is notable and impressive in a number of ways, both in terms of the high quality and the complexity of content achieved in Crusader icons, and quantitatively in the fact that we have many more icons produced in the Crusader East in the third quarter of the thirteenth century than we have panel paintings

known from such an important source in the Italian West as Venice!

Icon painting was truly important in both Acre and at Mt. Sinai in the 1250s and 1260s, but it was only one aspect of the Crusader artistic production in Acre, as we have already seen. Surprisingly perhaps, an equally innovative type of art we find there is manuscript illumination, a medium of Crusader Art not found at St. Catherine's Monastery. Shortly after the painting of manuscripts was revived at Acre in the early 1250s, a completely new development emerged. Secular manuscripts written in the vernacular, mostly in Old French, became popular and were given cycles of illustration. This parallels contemporary developments in Paris, in the same way that Crusader icon painting parallels developments in panel painting in central Italy. Louis IX personally commissioned the production of an illustrated vernacular text, of course, with his personal book, the Arsenal Bible, written in Old French. Slightly later, in the late 1250s and the 1260s, however, we find new secular histories also being written and given cycles of miniatures. The most popular examples were the *History of Outremer* written in and about the Latin Kingdom, by William of Tyre, and the so-called *Histoire Universelle*, originally written in France for Count Roger de Lille and brought to the Crusader East in the mid-thirteenth century.

The *History of Outremer* was written in Latin in the late 1170s and the early 1180s by William II, Archbishop of Tyre. The Latin text, carrying the story of the Latin Kingdom up to 1184, was then translated into Old French and various continuations were written ending at various times; the earliest continuation ended in 1227, and the latest in 1277. The earliest extant Old French text of the *History of Outremer* to be illustrated was done in Paris in the 1240s, probably at the royal court of Louis IX (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 9081). The earliest extant Old French manuscript to be illustrated in Acre is a codex with a continuation up to 1247; it was probably produced there in the late 1250s. Later, in the 1270s it was continued up to 1264, and one final miniature was added (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 2628).[29]

MS fr. 9081 and MS fr. 2628 are similar in format, featuring double-decker historiated initials at the start of each book division of William's *History*. Taken together, their illustrations each form a separate cycle of miniatures for the basic 22 books of William's text. Significantly, however, the cycle for MS fr. 2628 is completely independent of the cycle for MS fr. 9081. Indeed MS fr. 2628 represents a new and exciting venture, despite its rather modest level of artistic quality (fig. 86). The choice and treatment of scenes are freshly drawn from the text and the miniatures exhibit bold designs, vivid colorism, appealing narrative imagery, and in some cases uniquely Crusader iconography. We find, for example, the coronation ritual featuring the kneeling king

86. *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 2628): fol. 89v, Book 11, Bohemond sails for Italy, initial "E" (7.0 x 7.3 cm)
The lively narrative of the earliest extant *History of Outremer* images done in the Latin East are presented in the framework of historiated initials done by an artist working in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style. Here we see the story of Bohemond and Daimbert sailing from the port of St. Simeon in the autumn of 1104, and their arrival in Apulia early in 1105. The main focus is on the sturdy Crusader ship riding the waves of the rolling sea. The illustration of secular history books like the *History of Outremer* was a new and exciting venture in the Crusader East, which paralleled contemporary developments in Paris.

instead of the typical French enthronement. We see the patriarchs of Jerusalem standing at the bedside of dying kings accompanied by the prior of the Holy Sepulchre, who wears a white alb. We see the tragic accident of King Fulk, which occurred while he was on a *chevauchée* with Queen Melisende near Acre in 1143; he was killed when he was thrown from his startled horse. Details of daily life are included, such as the broad-brimmed sun hat the Queen wore to protect her during the heat of the day which is part of her costume.

The *History of Outremer* was the story of the Latin Kingdom written by one of the king's closest advisors. Although William had gone to Europe for his education, he had been born in the Latin Kingdom and his point of view was completely Crusader.[30] The illustrations vividly reflect the Near Eastern experience of the Crusaders. No wonder it became the most popular secular illustrated text in the Latin East at this time. No doubt it was commissioned and read by the aristocracy, clerics, and the educated soldiery, including members of the military orders, from the 1250s to 1291.

The other very popular illustrated text in Acre was the *Universal History* or *Histoire ancienne*.[31] It was first composed in France for Count Roger de Lille in the time of Baldwin I, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, probably in the years 1208–1213. The purpose of this text was to present a continuous narrative of the history of the world, from the creation up to the time of Christ. The format of the illustrations for this codex was different from MS fr. 2628; the miniatures appear as rectangular panels forming headpieces at the start of the major text divisions. A few are double-decker in arrangement, but none is in the older format of the historiated initial. The formal characteristics of these miniatures are very much in the tradition of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style exhibited by the Arsenal Bible Master. But various aspects of the work indicate that it was done later, in the 1260s. We see the new format and there are new, more up-to-date Byzantine models used for some of the imagery. There are also more explicit Gothic characteristics present here in the colorism, and in the pointed trefoil arches of the architecture. There can be no doubt that the artist of Dijon MS 562, the earliest *Histoire Universelle* codex done in the East, is closely related to the painter of MS fr. 2628; compare, for example, the representation of sailing ships on the sea in the "Sailing of the Argo," fol. 89v in the former (fig. 87), with the "Voyage of Bohemond," fol. 89v in the latter (see above, fig. 86). Overall the *Histoire Universelle* artist exhibits slightly better quality than the painter of the *History of Outremer* miniatures, but they are each breaking new ground on their own terms. The Dijon codex has a bigger cycle, 50 miniature panels, whereas MS

87. *Histoire Universelle* (Dijon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 562): fol. 89v, Pelias and Jason (upper), the sailing of the Argo (lower) (12.5 x 8.5 cm)
The imagery of the *Histoire Universelle*, like that of the *History of Outremer*, was newly created in terms of the Crusader style in Acre. Here we see the meeting of King Pelias and Jason in the context of a Gothic-inspired palace with Gothic trefoil arches and a Gothic color scheme known from mid-century books done in Paris. The image of Jason sailing with the Argonauts is, however, rather comparable to the Book 11 miniature in the *History of Outremer* (fig. 86) in terms of the style of the ships, the spiraling waves on the sea, and the formulaic city. This miniature is, however, a little more lavishly done than the slightly earlier Paris BNF MS fr. 2628, with a larger gold ground, and the format has now changed to the new rectangular panels, rather than the older historiated initials.

fr. 2628 has 27 historiated initials, but the most significant difference in the two cycles is that the MS fr. 2628 cycle is completely independent of the western illustrated manuscripts. It is a cycle invented in the Crusader East. In the *Histoire Universelle*, however, the narrative cycle is a western invention that was transmitted to the Latin East. It is the harbinger of Western European, mostly French, influence on Crusader manuscript production in Acre, an influence and a presence that grows much stronger in the 1280s as we shall see.

Even though by far the largest number of Crusader illustrated manuscripts from the Latin East appears to have been produced in Acre, other cities in the Crusader States are known to have produced books. Of these Antioch is the most important. This is no surprise given the evidence we have. A Cicero manuscript was written in Latin in Antioch by a certain Stephen of Antioch in 1154. An Armenian gospel manuscript with a lengthy colophon written in 1181 refers to the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Lusignan, and appears to have been written there. Neither of these two works was illustrated so far as we know. But there exists from the late twelfth century a lavishly illustrated manuscript, known as the San Daniele Bible, that is very controversial; it may have been done in Antioch because of the strength of the Byzantine influence we see in its figure style.[32] Whatever the final decision may be about it, however, this book exhibits strong Crusader characteristics. It is an elegantly produced Latin Bible written by a French-trained scribe, with monumental historiated initials done in a handsome Italo-Byzantine Crusader style. The artist shows awareness of manuscript painting from Jerusalem and from Syria, such as the Buchanan Bible done about 1190, but is clearly very strongly influenced by Byzantine painting with some reflections of Armenian style as well. It is quite possible this book was done in the aftermath of the fall of Jerusalem, when Antioch was one of the few major centers still in Crusader hands.

These manuscript examples suggest the importance of Antioch as a center for Crusader painting in the twelfth and thirteenth century, but the extant codex with the clearest evidence for its production there is a *History of Outremer* manuscript now in the Vatican Library (Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1963).[33] This manuscript is unique among extant illustrated William of Tyre books because its Old French text only includes the basic 22 books ending in 1184; there is no continuation. The illustrations were planned to be miniature panels, but all were executed as historiated initials. Iconographically the cycle differs from anything we see in Acre, or in France, and the miniatures are done in an Italo-Byzantine Crusader style, also different from anything we find in Acre. The imagery is especially interesting with regard to depictions of the First Crusade, where representations of Antioch demonstrate the artist's first-hand knowledge of the topography at Book 6 (fig. 88). The depictions of the Crusader soldiers also show interesting parallels with the distinctive coinage of the city from 1160 to 1268, the so-called "helmet deniers" of Bohemond of Antioch.

88. *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. MS 1963): fol. 49r, Book 6, First Crusaders fight in Antioch (panel: 6.3 x 6.7 cm; stem of letter 'L': 15.4 x 1.0 cm)
This image of the First Crusaders fighting in 1098 demonstrates that the artist clearly knew and represented here the topography of the mountains behind Antioch. The soldiers in their chain mail wearing the metal casques with large nasales also remind us of the "helmet deniers" coin type issued throughout most of the thirteenth century in the city. The fact that this codex survived the destruction of the city by Baybars in 1268 probably indicates that it was taken out well before the Mamluk conquest of the city. It is a precious piece of evidence that Antioch also was home to artists who, like those in Acre, illustrated secular books in the 1260s.

These distinctive aspects of Antiochene imagery are joined by two other timely features notable in these miniatures. The Book 12 historiated initial depicts a representation of Xerxes, King of Persia, mentioned in the text. In the words of one art historian, Xerxes appears here "enthroned in the attitude and costume of a contemporary sultan, and attended with Muhammadan dignitaries; this scene is clearly a direct adaptation of an Islamic miniature in some thirteenth-century Arabic manuscript of the Kitab al-Aghani or the Makamat of al-Hariri."[34] We are reminded that in 1260 Prince Bohemond of Antioch was a vassal of the Mongol Khan, who, in 1258, had conquered Baghdad. Hulagu, the Mongol general, is known to have rewarded Bohemond in 1260 with spoils from his recent conquests, among which there are likely to have been illustrated School of Baghdad manuscripts. There is one other aspect of these miniatures that corroborates the possibility of such Muslim and Mongol connections. Seven of the historiated initials in MS Pal. Lat. 1963 feature the use of *çintamani* as decoration on the robes of selected figures depicted. Most of these are prominent persons such as kings, patriarchs and bishops, but one figure is Constance of Antioch, wife of the infamous Raynauld de Chatillon at Book 18. The important fact is that this cycle of miniatures has more examples of *çintamani* than is found in any other Crusader illustrated manuscript. This both corroborates the likely stimulus of this ornamental motif from Mongol sources, as we have also seen with the icons, and adds weight to the evidence that this important manuscript was illustrated in Antioch in the 1260s, shortly before the city fell to Baybars and the Mamluks in 1268.

Given how important Antioch was to the Crusaders it is no surprise that there is evidence for Crusader artistic activity there. What is a surprise is the fact that we can as yet associate no extant Crusader manuscripts with Tripoli or Tyre, which were also major Crusader cities and important centers of commerce. All of these sites were important military targets for the Mamluks in the 1260s, of course, but in the eyes of Baybars, Antioch was the main objective following his rise to power. He was especially unhappy with Bohemond's alliance with the Mongols in 1260, and he now prepared to punish the city, even while he continued his operations against the Mongols. In 1261 Baybars attacked Aleppo in northern Syria and conducted raids into Antiochene territory. In 1262 the port of Antioch, San Simeon, was sacked and Antioch itself was threatened; only Mongol support helped the Crusaders retain control. In 1263, Baybars continued his assault on Syria. When certain Crusaders violated the terms of a truce, he ordered the Church of the Incarnation at Nazareth to be razed to the ground. Baybars understood the importance of Nazareth to be the place where Christianity had its origin and, in contrast to Saladin, he wished to punish the Crusaders for their transgressions by destroying the building that sheltered the holy site. The five Nazareth Capitals were, of course, safely buried when this happened. Otherwise, only the unfinished shrine of the Annunciation inside the church survived this brutal treatment. Saladin had, of course, magnanimously spared the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1187, but then the Khwarismian Turks had seriously damaged it in 1244 when they sacked the city. Now the holy site of Nazareth was demolished as well. It meant that only the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem remained more or less unscathed among the greatest dominical holy sites so lavishly decorated by the Crusaders in the twelfth century.

Up to 1265 Baybars proceeded cautiously because of the Mongol threat on his eastern flank. In February of 1265, however, the Mongol Khan, Hulagu, died and Baybars could confidently implement his plans to attack and ultimately to eliminate the Crusaders. Caesarea was taken in March, despite the new fortifications Louis IX had built there in 1251. Then Baybars took Haifa and, to the south, Arsuf. In 1266 Baybars continued his relentless attacks, taking Safed, the great Templar castle east of Montfort and Acre, and he followed up on this by taking control of the entire Galilee region. Then he ordered his army into Cilician Armenia where he overran Sis and Tarsus. By the end of the summer Cilician Armenia was eliminated as a military threat to the Mamluks for the remainder of the thirteenth century.

In 1267 Baybars attempted a bold attack on Acre itself, his third such raid in the past four years, but by far his most serious attempt on the Crusader capital. For this operation, Baybars camouflaged his army by using Hospitaller and

Templar banners captured from earlier battles. Disguised this way, his troops almost reached the city walls, but when his ruse was discovered the Crusaders in Acre successfully fought the Mamluks off. He also attacked Tripoli about this time, and was satisfied to take the major castle of Mont Pelerin near the city with major Crusader losses. In the meantime, the plight of the Crusader States had evoked the call for a new crusade, and Louis IX took the cross for the second time in March 1267. Baybars took note of the plans for a new crusader expedition, but meanwhile he was energetically conducting a divide-and-conquer policy of diplomacy along with his military operations. In the spring and summer he concluded separate treaties with Philippe de Montfort at Tyre, the Lord of Beirut, and the Hospitallers. Surprisingly, his treaty with the Hospitallers included sharing sovereignty over and revenues from land stretching north of Acre between Crac des Chevaliers and the coast.

Baybars's relentless campaign continued in 1268 when his army attacked and conquered Jaffa in March, the castle of Beaufort, overlooking the Litani River, in April, and the Antiochene port of San Simeon in early May. His army then besieged Antioch on May 14 and six days later, on May 20, the city surrendered amid much carnage. The Mamluks captured a huge amount of booty. We can only imagine what works of Crusader Art there must have been in these spoils of war. Ominously, Antioch, the initial major conquest of the First Crusade in 1098 in Syria–Palestine, was now returned to Muslim control 170 years later. Western chroniclers at the time reported the loss of the city very matter-of-factly, but the impact of Antioch's fall sent shock waves through the Mediterranean world and all over Europe.

Preparations for the new crusade intensified. The Kingdom of Jerusalem received a new ruler. Conrad V Hohenstaufen, known as Conradin, was beheaded in Naples at the command of Charles of Anjou in October 1268. The absentee Hohenstaufen claim to the Crown of Jerusalem that stretched all the way back to 1225 was now ended. Hugh III of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, was next in line, though not uncontested, and for the first time in nearly fifty years, the Latin Kingdom had a resident king, an adult resident king. The future of the Crusader States was in doubt, to be sure, but hope resided in what the new King of Jerusalem could do and the fact that a new crusade was taking shape in Europe.

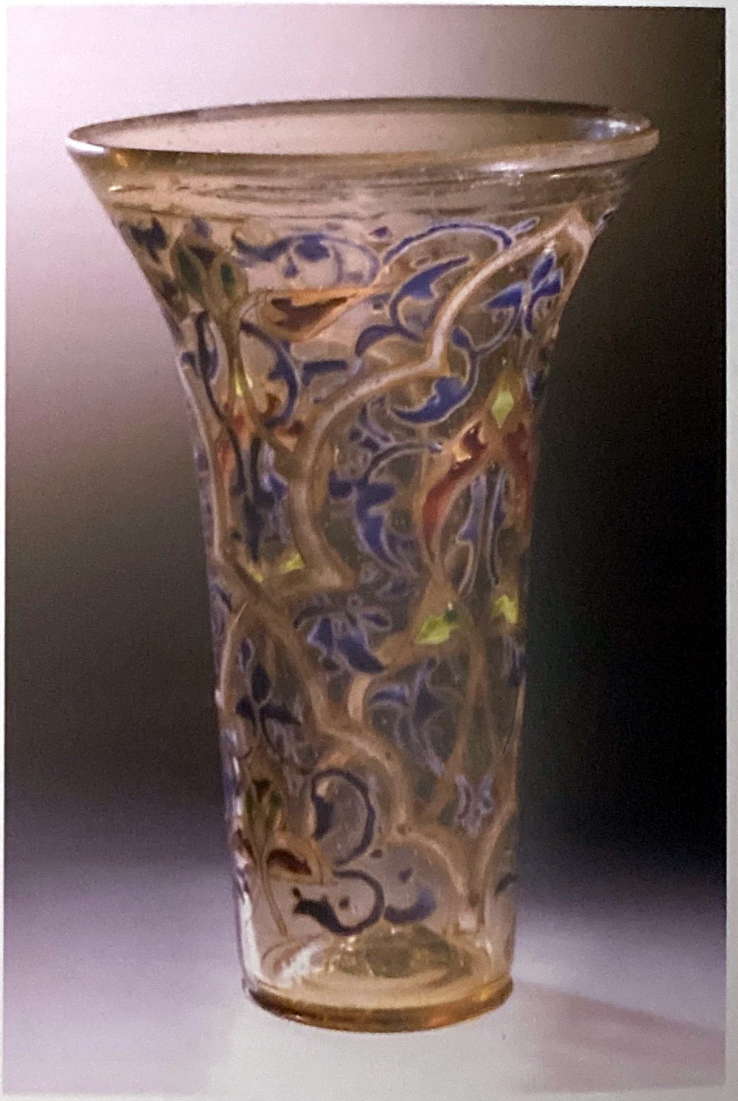
During these difficult years the Crusader States had shrunk to mostly coastal holdings stretching from Chastel Pelerin in the south to Latakia in the north. Most of the Principality of Antioch was lost and Crac des Chevaliers was now the principal and easternmost bulwark of the County of Tripoli. Acre had proven to be the only major site attacked by Baybars to have withstood his assaults without losing any fortified positions. Acre remained the political, commercial, and artistic capital of the Crusader Kingdom. From the point of view of Crusader Art and architecture, the losses from 1260 to 1268 were enormous in terms of fortifications, both castles and cities, and their contents. Antioch in particular suffered a catastrophic defeat. Clearly the massive destruction wreaked by the Mamluks in 1268 produced the devastated condition of the city from which it never recovered, becoming little more than a backwater town later in the Ottoman Empire. The damage endured by Antioch serves as an example and an exclamation point for all those other Crusader sites taken by the Mamluk army during Baybars's campaigns 1260–1268.

In light of the devastations caused by Baybars in these years it is doubly remarkable to find Crusader Art, or at least Crusader painting, flourishing in the media of manuscript illumination and icons. The fact that there is even one illustrated manuscript extant that appears to have been done at Antioch in the 1260s before the devastation of 1268 vividly suggests what a vigorous center of Crusader Art it must have been. It is also remarkable to consider another important aspect of Near Eastern artistic developments at this time, namely the existence of workshops and markets in Muslim cities in which luxury metalwork and luxury enameled glass were produced and sold for an international clientele, including the Crusaders. The dating and place of origin for most of the extant objects is difficult to discern and cannot yet be identified with any precision. But the existence of these objects indicates, like the production of manuscripts and icons, that artistic production went on even in the face of difficult circumstances and active military operations, for the Crusaders and for others, be they patrons

or customers. These objects also clearly indicate the widening scope of artistic multiculturalism in the Near East during the Crusader period.

There are a number of objects that can serve as examples. We have, for example, metalwork, such as the Freer Basin (*c.* 1240–1250), another basin from Syria in the Nuhad ed-Sahid collection (*c.* 1240–1260), or the famous *Baptistère de St Louis*.[35] The *Baptistère*, now in the Louvre, is decorated with Mamluk and Mongol figures, and originally had blazons that may have been intended for a European recipient. But it only came into the possession of the French royal family in the post-medieval period, despite its popular name. In any case, the high quality of its workmanship, the fact that it is signed by a master metalworker named Muhammad ibn al-Zayn no fewer than six times, and its controversial date and unknown place of origin have made it a particularly celebrated example of work produced during the period of the Crusader–Mamluk–Mongol confrontation. The dating of this piece has been hotly debated, ranging from *c.* 1260–1277, that is, during the reign of Baybars, to the *c.* 1340s! A variety of places of origin have been suggested for this and the other objects, all in major centers in either Syria or Egypt. One of those places is, for example, Aleppo. It is remarkable to think of Aleppo as a possible place of production when, between 1260 and 1261, for instance, it changed hands three times as the result of military action. But these circumstances of more or less constant warfare were, so to speak, the 'normal' condition at this time, and still artistic production continued.

Similar examples can be offered in regard to another medium, that of luxury enameled glass. Some of the same issues are also found with these objects. A handsome glass canteen now in the British Museum with enameled mounted soldiers (Christians?) on the sides and beautiful vine-scroll arabesques inside pointed-arch floral type forms decorating the front and back has been dated alternatively to *c.* 1250–1260 or to *c.* 1340–1360. There are also beautiful enameled glass beakers such as the Aldrevandinus beaker, also in the British Museum,[36] dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, or the wonderful "Luck of Edenhall" beaker, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, another "Syro-Frankish" beaker, possibly from the mid-



89. London, Victoria and Albert Museum: beaker, The "Luck of Edenhall."
This beautiful work of enameled glass was given to the V & A by the Musgrave family. The beaker, decorated with graceful pointed arches and leafy arabesques, is said to have been brought to England by a Crusader from Syria. When it came into the possession of the Musgraves, it developed a reputation as a fairy cup. It was, so the story goes, abandoned by fairies when they were interrupted while drinking at St. Cuthbert's well in the Garden of Edenhall.

thirteenth century (fig. 89). The latter has elegant intersecting arch motifs and arabesque leaves painted in red, blue, and white enamel. The painted work is outlined in gold and fine red lines. Apparently produced in Syria, it appears that some Crusader acquired and took it back to England. Eventually this cup came into the possession of the Musgrave family, who lived in Edenhall in Cumberland, England. At Edenhall it gained a reputation as a fairy cup. This beaker was given to the V & A by the Musgrave family in 1958.

Two other beakers now in Baltimore, in the Walters Art Museum, illustrate the issues under discussion with unusual clarity. These two beakers are said to have been made in Aleppo in about 1260. They both carry painted inscriptions praising "the Sultan", otherwise unnamed. They are decorated with figural scenes that include the representations of figures with haloes, and buildings that have been identified with Jerusalem.[37] Who would the targeted clientele be, Christian pilgrims or Muslims going to Jerusalem? Most scholars agree these beakers were made by Muslims, whoever their targeted customers may have been.

In sum, these "minor arts" present us with important evidence for a fluid art market in Egypt–Syria-Palestine and commerce that was not contained inside of military or political boundaries. Although the issues about dating and place of origin are far from being resolved and major reconsiderations and more research are needed in order to understand more fully how these objects were commissioned, produced, bought and sold, there can be no doubt that luxury metalwork, luxury enameled glass, and also decorated glazed pottery were important aspects of the world of Crusader Art. One art historian, Carole Hillenbrand, has observed the following in regard to these media:

> Compelling evidence survives to indicate that the Crusader knightly and mercantile classes acquired a taste for the luxury goods of the Near East. Indeed, the interiors of their houses must have been sumptuous, judging by the precious enamel-painted glass beakers and glazed pottery fragments excavated at Crusader sites.

These objects, along with the inlaid metalwork, "were probably prized for their 'exotic' value in much the same way as Oriental carpets are treasured today by their Western owners." She concludes, "the Crusaders were well ensconced in the Levant in a period [during the thirteenth century] in which ... they came to form part of the political fabric of Near Eastern life. There is clear evidence that the Crusaders shared Muslim artistic tastes and that Muslim craftsmen tailored their artifacts to please a Crusader clientele."[38]

Crusader Art, 1268–1289

Trade and commerce, and artistic production therefore continued in 1268 as before, but not, of course, in Antioch after May 21. Following the fall of Antioch in 1268, Baybars returned to Cairo where he prepared to go on the Hajj to Mecca, ordered training for his army to prepare for future campaigns, and carried on his divide-and-conquer-style diplomacy with the Crusaders. In the summer of 1269 he indeed went to Mecca on pilgrimage. What irony that Baybars could visit and pray at the holiest site in Islam, but the Crusader leaders could not do the same at the holiest sites in Christendom. And while Mongol and Byzantine emissaries sought to maintain good relations with him, Baybars concluded a new truce with Count Bohemond of Tripoli, who feared that what had happened to Antioch could happen to Tripoli. At this point King Hugh, however, balked at a new truce in light of the new crusade getting organized in the West, an expedition that he hoped would protect the Latin Kingdom and Cyprus and give the Crusaders the military strength to attack Baybars. Unfortunately this hope would not materialize as he imagined it.

Shortly after Louis IX and the Crusader army sailed from Aigues-Mortes in July 1270, he announced the surprising decision to attack Tunis on the North African coast. Arriving at Tunis in mid-July, Louis and his army were stricken with disease and dysentery in camp. On August 25, just hours before his brother Charles of Anjou arrived to join him, Louis IX died. Voltaire, quoted by Gibbon, summarized this event by writing: "It is thus that a Christian king died near the ruins of Carthage, waging war against the sectaries of Mohammed, in a land to which Dido had

introduced the deities of Syria."[39] Among the prominent leaders of this Crusade, only Prince Edward of England steadfastly maintained his vow to go to the aid of the Holy Land. He and his men wintered on Sicily, and then sailed to Acre, where they arrived in May 1271.

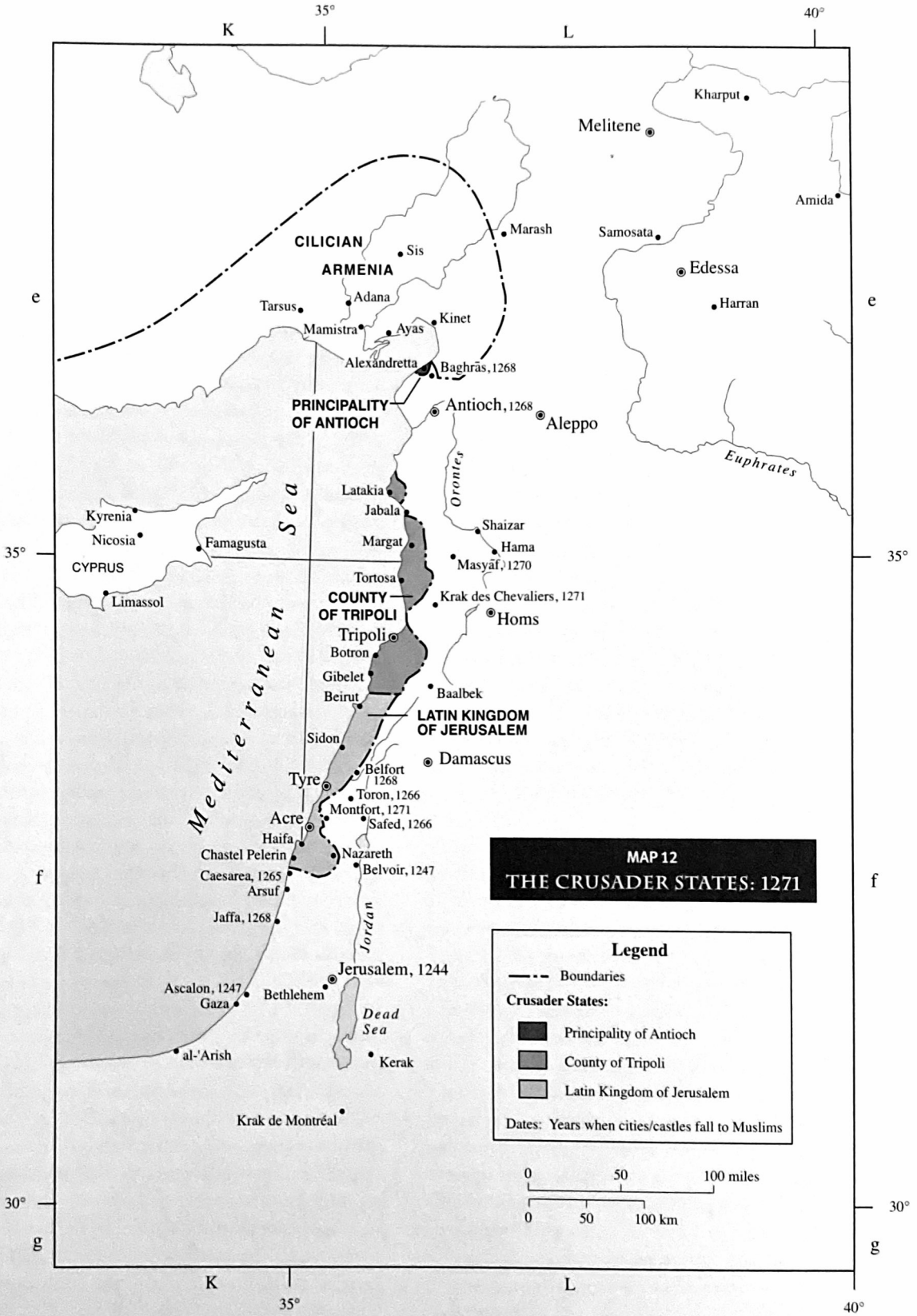
In the Latin Kingdom meanwhile, in September 1269, Hugh III was crowned as the King of Jerusalem in the Cathedral of Tyre, but would he be able to defend the Crusaders from further losses? The answer came soon enough. When Baybars realized that the Crusade led by Louis IX was not coming east, he swung back into action. In January 1271 Baybars marched into the County of Tripoli and captured the Templar castle of Chastel Blanc, just northwest of Crac des Chevaliers. From there he turned to the southeast and attacked Crac itself, besieging the castle on February 21. According to Muslim sources, Baybars eventually had a forged letter sent to the commander in Crac, allegedly from his superior in Tripoli, ordering him to surrender under the assurance of safe passage for his men. Whatever the case, on April 8 the Hospitallers suddenly surrendered and were given safe conduct to Tripoli. Baybars informed the Grand Master of the Hospital in Acre with a victory letter that stated the following:

> We bring the news that God has granted us an easy conquest of Hisn al-Akrad [Crac des Chevaliers]. You fortified it, built it up and adorned it, but you would have been more fortunate had you abandoned it. You relied on your brothers to preserve it, but they were of no avail to you. You lost them by making them stay there, as they lost it and caused your ruin. No fortress can hold out when these Muslim armies come down against it.[40]

It is remarkable that even Baybars remarks on the artistic adornment of the castle at a time like this! When the Mamluks took control of this castle, as they had done at Safed, they immediately garrisoned it with their own men, and repaired the walls in order to use it against the Crusaders. The loss of Crac was a terrible blow militarily and psychologically, not only to the Hospitallers, but also to Crusaders everywhere in the Holy Land. As a result of this loss, Margat just north of Tortosa was the only major castle left in Hospitaller hands.

As Baybars was contemplating whether to attack Tripoli next, Prince Edward arrived in Acre on Crusade in May of 1271 (Map 12). By quickly offering Bohemond a new truce, Baybars neutralized the Count, and then, seeing how small the Crusader army was, he quickly took advantage of the situation. In June Baybars brazenly attacked the headquarters castle of the Teutonic Knights at Montfort, not 25 km from Acre. The commander sued for peace when the fortifications began to fail. He and his garrison were given safe conduct to Acre on June 23 and were allowed to take with them the treasure and the archives of the Order. The Mamluks then demolished the castle on July 4, 84 years to the day after the catastrophe of the Crusader defeat at the Horns of Hattin. Montfort was never rebuilt. Excavations carried out by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1920s discovered significant fragments of high-quality sculpture and painting that the Teutonic Knights had used to adorn this castle as we have seen. With the loss of Crac and Montfort the Crusaders now held no important inland fortresses; they were pinned to the coast. As a result of these losses, major works of Crusader Art also disappeared from view.

The experience of Prince Edward in Acre, from May 1271 to the summer of 1272, must have been strange, frustrating and dangerous. Arriving on Crusade with such a small army, said to number only about a thousand men, he was no threat to the Mamluks. It must have been sobering for Edward to see Baybars take and destroy Montfort so close to the walls of Acre. Still he did what he could. Edward tried to organize soldiers from Cyprus to come to the aid of the Latin Kingdom. Travellers and envoys were constantly passing through Acre, among whom Marco Polo was in the city during 1272. Marco and his relatives were on their way to the Far East to the court of Kubilai Khan in China. There is no record that Edward and Marco ever met, but we know Edward did send emissaries to the new Mongol Khan, Abaga in Turkestan, seeking an alliance against the Mamluks. As a result a large Mongol contingent was in fact ordered to march into Syria, but they were never able to cross the Jordan River because of defensive action by Baybars. Edward and his men conducted raids in the environs of Acre, but they were never able to link up with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Tarsus
Kinet
Mamistra
Ayas
Alexandretta
Baghras, 1268
PRINCIPALITY
OF ANTIOCH
Antioch, 1268
Aleppo
Euphrates
Orontes
Latakia
Jabala
Kyrenia
Shaizar
Nicosia
Famagusta
Margat
Hama
Masyaf, 1270
CYPRUS
Tortosa
Limassol
COUNTY
OF TRIPOLI
Krak des Chevaliers, 1271
Homs
Tripoli
Botron
Gibelet
Beirut
Baalbek
LATIN KINGDOM
OF JERUSALEM
Sidon
Damascus
Belfort
1268
Tyre
Toron, 1266
Montfort, 1271
Acre
Safed, 1266
Haifa
Chastel Pelerin
Nazareth
Belvoir, 1247
Caesarea, 1265
Arsuf
Jaffa, 1268
Jordan
Jerusalem, 1244
Ascalon, 1247
Gaza
Bethlehem
Dead
Sea
al-'Arish
Kerak
Krak de Montréal
Mediterranean Sea
e
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MAP 12
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1271
Legend
Boundaries
Crusader States:
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
Dates: Years when cities/castles fall to Muslims
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 km

the Mongol force and no knights came over from Cyprus. Edward did make his own personal contribution to the defense of Acre through construction – like Louis IX; he built a new tower on the northeast angle of the outer city walls. But certain things he could not control. The Venetian merchants in Acre were continuing to trade with the Mamluks much to his disgust, even supplying them with important supplies for the war effort.

Sizing up his situation, eventually Edward decided to pursue a truce with Baybars, in hopes of preventing further Mamluk attacks until he could return with a larger Crusader army. Baybars cautiously agreed to renew the truce that had been broken in 1269, but only after the intervention of Charles of Anjou. The truce was accepted by King Hugh for the Crusader government at Acre. Under its terms the Crusaders would have open entry to Nazareth, where, of course, only the shrine of the Annunciation still stood. This restored access to Nazareth for ten years, which along with the shrine of the Virgin at Tortosa, the relics of St. Euphemia at Chastel Pelerin, and the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, were now the main freely accessible thirteenth-century Christian pilgrimage sites. When the king and the sultan signed the new truce in May 1272, one of the Muslim chroniclers, Ibn al-Furat, described some of the events: "The people of Acre came out to see the troops, and the Sultan mounted with his men, after which they jousted with lances."[41] We can imagine the bitter taste all of this left in the mouth of Prince Edward.

Despite this pact, Baybars insisted on separate treaties with the Hospitallers and the Templars, further evidence of his divide-and-conquer diplomatic strategy. Seeing that he could do no more under the circumstances, Edward decided to return home to try to raise another Crusader army. Baybars, apparently knowing of his intentions, organized an assassination attempt on his life on June 16, but it failed. As soon as he had recuperated sufficiently, Edward left for home, on September 22, 1272. In the meantime, his father, Henry III, had died. As Edward assumed his new responsibilities as King of England, the chance of him returning to the Holy Land on Crusade disappeared. Indeed, as it turned out, Edward was the last major European Crusader to come to the Latin Kingdom.

Meanwhile the new pope, Gregory X, had been crowned in Rome on March 27, 1272 and immediately he called for a new council to meet in Lyon in May 1274 to plan for a new Crusade. When this council was concluded in July of 1274, Gregory had achieved three important things. First, there was a semblance of Church reunion with the Orthodox Greeks. Second, the Mongol Il-Khan, Abaga, had proposed an alliance with the Christians against the Mamluks. His chief envoy had even submitted to baptism at the council as a demonstration of good faith. Gregory's dream of an international alliance that would make possible the reconquest of Jerusalem and the Christian holy places was taking shape. Third, Gregory formally had proclaimed a new crusade in a document issued in May 1274. This crusade was conceived on a scale that was ambitious; Jonathan Riley-Smith has called his preparations "heroic".[42] But it was not to be. On January 10, 1276, Pope Gregory X died, and with his death also died his dreams of the greatest crusade expedition ever organized.

The death of Gregory X left three other major figures on the world stage with regard to the Crusader States: Baybars, Charles of Anjou, and Hugh III. King Hugh was the first player to make his move. In October 1276 Hugh, exasperated over his failure to govern in Acre, left the Latin Kingdom to reside in Cyprus, effectively abdicating his role as king. In a letter to the pope he explained that he could not control the feudal lords or the Italian merchants, and the fractious behavior of the Military Orders left him without the reliable military support he needed.

Baybars had bided his time while maintaining good relations with Charles of Anjou, alert to threats from the Mongols and from the new crusade called in the West. When the plans for Gregory's crusade disappeared after the pope's death, Baybars decided to move against the Mongols. Marching into Anatolia the Mamluks engaged the Mongols in a major battle at Albistan, near Melitene. After achieving a bloody victory on April 18, 1277, Baybars withdrew to Damascus. It was in Damascus that the Mamluk leader developed a serious fever – some of course said he was poisoned – and he died on July 1, 1277. Baybars was a great general and a powerful political leader. The inscription on his handsome curved sword in the Khalili Collection in

London reads: "Glory to our Lord, the Sultan, al-Malik, the Just, the Learned, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, ..., al-Zahir Baybars, the Associate of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his victories glorious."[43] He was also a great patron of the arts, active as a builder who commissioned many buildings in Cairo and Jerusalem, and interested in encouraging artists from the East to move into Mamluk territory. However great his accomplishments were, like the pope's dream of a great crusade, Baybars's dream of pushing the Crusaders into the sea would also not be realized. It would take two of his successors to achieve this goal.

The abdication of King Hugh had left the Latin Kingdom in a quite precarious situation and during the winter of 1276–1277 the Crusaders were left to face Baybars as best they could. Baybars fortunately was occupied elsewhere, and a new Crusader king materialized from a most unexpected source. Hugh's claim to be King of Jerusalem had been contested by his cousin, Mary of Antioch. Now, with papal encouragement, she arranged to sell her claim to Charles of Anjou in March 1277. When the High Court of the Latin Kingdom subsequently recognized Charles as King of Jerusalem, he sent his *bailli*, that is, his personal administrative representative, to Acre to command an Angevin military garrison. Baybars meanwhile kept the peace with the Crusaders, engaged as he was fighting the Mongols.

Charles of Anjou never came to the Latin Kingdom to stake his claim and be crowned, and the Crusader nobles in Tyre refused to recognize his claim in any case, holding out for Hugh III, so the leadership of the kingdom was not resolved. Like Hugh, neither Charles nor his *bailli* could rein in the fractious nobles, merchants, or members of the Military Orders either, but neither Charles nor Hugh would now try to forge an alliance with the Mongols against the Mamluks in the way Prince Edward did. Charles's *bailli*, Roger of San Severino, was ordered to maintain the peace with the Mamluks. The perhaps surprising result of this policy was that the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli were given a new lease on life for another decade.

Following the death of Baybars the succession remained in doubt until Kalavun, an emir in charge of Mamluk troops in Syria, eventually took charge. Kalavun built support while he was consolidating his power in 1279–1280. To this end he commissioned building programs at Mecca, Hebron, and in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem he sponsored the reconstruction of the southwest part of the al-Aqsa Mosque, the former headquarters of the Templars, and began the Ribat al-Mansuri, a hospice for Muslim pilgrims. The era of Mamluk construction in Jerusalem had begun. He also concluded a ten-year truce with the Crusaders in 1281. This meant in effect that the Crusaders, marking a change in policy under the leadership of Charles of Anjou, were indeed no longer pursuing an aggressive alliance with the Mongols against the Mamluks. The Mongol threat to Kalavun was of course serious enough without the Crusaders as Mongol allies. When the Mamluks fought a great battle against the Mongols at Homs, Kalavun won a third great Mamluk victory over the Mongols, at the end of October 1281. It is said that after the battle, Roger of San Severino personally came to the camp of Kalavun and congratulated him in person on his victory. After this battle the Mongols withdrew back over the Euphrates River, which became now the established boundary between Mongol Mesopotamia and Mamluk Syria.

In 1282, Kalavun controlled the Mamluk Sultanate of Cairo, and Charles of Anjou was the most powerful lord in the West. Charles was King of Jerusalem, King of Sicily and Albania, Count of Anjou, Provence, Forcalquier, and Maine, Regent of Achaea, Overlord of Tunis, and Senator of Rome. In this powerful position, his main objective, however, was the conquest of Byzantium, which seemingly blinded him to all else. When the Sicilians rose in revolt against him, the famous "Sicilian Vespers" on March 30, 1282, he did not see it coming.[44] After it happened, Charles was eventually forced to recall Roger of San Severino from Acre in order to try to save his Kingdom in Sicily. Three years later, Charles was dead and his dreams of empire were over. In the meantime, the attempt by Hugh III to retake power in the Latin Kingdom had largely failed. When he died in 1284 his son, John, became king of Cyprus, but John never came to the Latin Kingdom to be recognized as a claimant to be King of Jerusalem.

The year 1285 proved to be a pivotal year in the Latin East. Charles of Anjou died in January, to be succeeded by

Charles II. Charles II, the new King of Sicily, was in no position to press his claim for the crown of Jerusalem, for the time being. Ominously, Kalavun captured the great Hospitaller castle of Margat on May 25 after a siege that had begun on April 17. The Hospitallers had been forced to surrender after the Mamluks had mined the walls and tower at the south end of the castle. The men were given safe conduct to Tortosa. Then the Mamluks installed a garrison of over 1500 soldiers and repaired the walls. In the West, the new king of France was Philippe IV, le Bel, crowned in October 1285. Although he, unlike Charles of Anjou, would not take responsibility for the custody of the Holy Land, offered to him by the new pope, Honorius IV, he did resume support payments for the French Regiment, originally established in Acre by King Louis IX. In the meantime, following the death of King John, a new king of Cyprus had been crowned in Nicosia in May 1285, Henry II. On Assumption Day, August 15, 1286, Henry was also crowned King of Jerusalem in the Cathedral of Tyre. Following the ceremony in Tyre, the royal party moved to Acre where a fête ensued for 15 days. It was said to be the most wonderful celebration seen in a hundred years.

While all this was going on, the new Mongol Il-Khan, Arghun, was attempting to reawaken interest in a Christian–Mongol alliance against the Mamluks by sending envoys directly to leaders in Western Europe, but without success. Kalavun meanwhile continued his strategy to isolate and target Tripoli as his next major target. In April 1287 he took advantage of recent earthquake damage to the fortifications of Latakia, to take the city, north of Marqab. Then in October, the ruler of Tripoli, Bohemond VII, died unexpectedly at age 26. Bohemond had developed into a strong ruler, but in the wake of his passing Tripoli was faced with a distressing spectacle of conflicting claims, disorganization, fragmentation, and at times, blind self-interest on the part of many factions. Kalavun, watching closely, and also no doubt aware of the Mongol Arghun's attempts to forge an alliance with the papacy and western rulers, saw the opportunity to strike, and he ordered his army to leave Cairo for Damascus early in 1289. The citizens of Tripoli seemed oblivious to their danger, but at the end of March 1289 Kalavun appeared before the walls of the city with an enormous army. The siege took 34 days; Kalavun is said to have used 19 catapults which relentlessly pummeled the fortifications until his troops breached the walls and entered the city on April 27, 1289. There was horrendous killing; many people were also taken prisoner and sold into slavery. Tripoli was a wealthy city, like Antioch; there was much booty. The Mamluks reported that 4000 weaver's looms were found in the city, reflecting the high level of textile production. Unlike the castles of Crac and Marqab, which could both be repaired and garrisoned immediately, Tripoli was a liability to maintain by the Mamluks, and if maintained the Crusaders would no doubt attempt to retake it. As at Antioch, the decision was made to destroy the city. A Crusader chronicler reported: "And so this great calamity befell the city of Tripoli, ..., and the sultan went out and devastated the whole area, so that you could not have found a single house standing."[45]

There was symbolic value here; the Mamluks had literally pushed the Crusaders into the sea at Tripoli. Moreover the County of Tripoli had come to an end after 180 years in existence. The Mamluks had now proved they could take the most powerful Crusader strongholds with their large armies and effective siege engines, even without control of the sea. The superior Crusader naval forces could not effectively defend or save these port cities from land attack, they could only provide safety for the relatively few refugees who could arrange to sail away. With the loss of Tripoli, the Crusaders only held a narrow strip of land running along the coast from Chastel Pelerin to Beirut, a distance of roughly 150 km. In the wake of this most recent disaster, would Europe finally send a new Crusade to roll back the Muslim warriors? How long could the Crusaders hold out against the Mamluks?

Given the substantial losses the Crusaders suffered in these years, 1268–1289, the question of course is, was any major art produced during these years of relentless Mamluk attack? There is nothing identifiable from the devastation of Tripoli; certainly some works did survive that were taken to places of safety, but we have no way of knowing what they were. Meanwhile, what artistic developments can we identify in Acre, and possibly elsewhere? The surprising answer is that there is evidence not only of continuing Crusader

artistic production in Acre and possibly at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, but that in Acre anyway, the period from about 1275 on appears to be a most productive period. Not only do we have more illustrated manuscripts from Acre in this period than in any previous decade, but also we find new and on the whole unexpected artistic developments in both icon painting and manuscript illumination. The fact that we seem to have more works of book and icon painting from Acre in the 1280s may of course simply be a reflection of the fact that more recent works were saved when the city fell in 1291, as compared to older works. But the surviving examples are interesting and intriguing.

Following the fall of Antioch in 1268, there seems to have been a lull in the immediate aftermath, but it appears "normal" production of illustrated books was revived by the mid-1270s. The characteristic examples we have to demonstrate this are another *History of Outremer* (Lyon, Bibl. Municipal, MS 828), and another *Histoire Universelle* (Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10175), both dated in the late 1270s. But there is evidence of two other illustrated *History of Outremer* books done at about this same time. Indeed the earlier *History of Outremer* (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 2628) seems to have been completed *c.* 1280 by having a continuation added, bringing its story up to 1277, and a final miniature being done, which introduces the final book dealing with Louis IX's first Crusade (fig. 90). The miniature represents the siege of Damietta in 1249, the last major Crusader victory by an expedition from the west. The image, modest as it is, focuses attention on the king, riding into battle crowned and resplendent in his royal heraldry of golden *fleurs-de-lys*.[46] This commission for MS fr. 2628 may obviously have been stimulated by the rise to power of the king's brother, Charles of Anjou in 1277, and the hope that a new crusade would produce similar victorious results. The fact that three additional *History of Outremer* books appear to have been done about this time seems to indicate how much in demand this book was, presumably by the resident nobility who were eager to know more about their heritage in the Latin Kingdom.

About the time that MS fr. 2628 was finished or shortly before, the three other *History of Outremer* codices were

90. *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 2628): fol. 28v, Book 34, Louis IX sailing east on the 6th Crusade (upper); Louis IX attacks Damietta on the 6th Crusade (lower) (7.8 x 6.8 cm)
The final historiated initial of this manuscript was added by a new artist working in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style closely linked to the original painter, and the text was added by a new scribe sometime after 1277. The miniature illustrates King Louis IX sailing to the Near East, and then attacking Damietta, in 1249. Despite his Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, the artist makes a successful attempt to differentiate the Egyptian Muslims in Damietta from the Crusaders. Perhaps the patron and the artist were inspired to choose this subject at the start of the final part of the continuation of this text because Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, had in 1277 acquired the crown of the Latin Kingdom. If they hoped Charles would come to the aid of the Holy Land like his brother had, they were to be sorely disappointed, however.

91. *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Lyon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 828): fol. 160v, Book 15, Siege of Shayzar with Crusaders playing chess in camp (7.6 x 7.2 cm)
The Lyon *History of Outremer* demonstrates that this text maintained its popularity in the 1270s and that the miniatures – now in the new rectangular panel format – mostly continued to follow the cycle organized for Paris BNF MS fr. 2628 (figs. 86 and 90). But the artist of the Lyon codex was different and he also introduced some interesting innovations. For example, here at Book 15 he represented the Crusader princes, who refused to fight with the Byzantine Emperor who was besieging Shayzar, as not only staying in their tents, but also as playing chess! What is significant is that this artist seems to have used an eastern representation, probably an Arab or Persian image, as his source for the chess players. Note, for example, they appear to be seated on the floor with crossed legs, not seated on benches as we find such chess players in western miniatures.

done. One of them is a book now in Paris (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 9085) in which all the miniatures are lost, but both of the other two have illustrations based on the cycle found in MS fr. 2628. Another one of these books is now in St. Petersburg, a manuscript with illuminated initials and double-decker panel miniatures, but it is a codex whose paintings have suffered serious damage with heavy flaking of the thickly painted decoration and also five of the miniatures are now missing. The other book, Lyon, Bibl. Mun. MS 828, is decorated by the same artist in a somewhat less lavish format, but the miniatures are in slightly better condition, and all have survived.[47]

This painter is working in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of very modest, one might even say minimal, accomplishment – note, for example, the somewhat self-conscious application of linear details to create the spectacled-eye convention as seen in earlier Acre painting. The most interesting features of this artist in fact have to do with his imagery. He is innovative, introducing new images not seen in earlier manuscripts of this text, for example, the scene at Book 1 of Peter the Hermit praying at the Holy Sepulchre. He is also interested in eastern imagery. He uses the *çintamani* design possibly stimulated by Mongol contacts on the robes of royal figures in the miniatures for Book 16 (Queen Melisende) and Book 17 (Conrad III of Germany). And in the Book 15 miniature, not only do we see another different choice of event for the miniature as compared to MS fr. 2628, the campaign of the Byzantine Emperor at Shayzar in Syria, but also the artist draws on eastern sources (fig. 91). The Muslim soldiers at Shayzar are given distinctive eastern dress including turbans and weapons in the upper scene, while below the two Crusader princes are playing chess seated on the ground in their tent. This chess match seems to reflect earlier Persian or Arabic illustrations of this scene from eastern sources. It is interesting to note that some of the same sources may also have been used in Spain by King Alfonso el Sabio in 1283 when he ordered a more lavishly illustrated book, the famous *Libro de Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas* to be made. Like the appearance of the *çintamani* design here, the image of the chess match may owe its inspiration to manuscripts sent westward at the time of the fall of Baghdad in 1258 or thereafter. Very likely this miniature was inspired under the direct influence of Arab painting.

A second *Histoire Universelle* manuscript now in Brussels (Bibl. Royale, MS 10175) is painted in a comparable style to the *History of Outremer* codices, but in this case the artist is different from those of both the *Outremer* and *Histoire Universelle* codices, the last of which we have already seen

(Dijon, MS 562; fig. 87). What is interesting in these *Universal History* texts is the way the local artists transformed the imagery of what was essentially invented as a western cycle of miniatures. The early scenes in this manuscript that form part of the story of Genesis were newly interpreted on the basis of recent Byzantine biblical miniatures. The scenes taken from Greek mythology, such as the story of Oedipus or the adventures of the Amazons, as well as the *Roman d'Alexandre* and the material about Aeneas and Roman history itself, all show pictorializations that reflect a Frankish culture in the Latin Kingdom. Taking the Amazons for an example, we see them introduced as newly important in these Crusader cycles, which seems to be an interesting reflection of the importance of women in the Crusader East. And in the Brussels codex, the Amazons are given new iconography, that of being armed with bows and arrows instead of the usual spears, swords and shields. In this way these Amazons are transformed in effect into mythological female *turcopoles*, inspired by the Near Eastern world where male *turcopoles* fought with bows and arrows in Crusader military orders, as we have discussed above. In these images and others, the miniatures all have their own originality deriving from the eastern, Crusader viewpoint of their artist and the artist's patron.

One final point about these manuscripts that is worth mentioning is the fact that all the books known to have been written and illustrated in Acre from *c.* 1275 to *c.* 1280 are secular books written in the vernacular. None is an ecclesiastical book, that is, a bible or gospel book, or a liturgical service book. This is interesting additionally in regard to the artists of these books, who are able and certainly trained locally, but are less accomplished than the artists working in Acre in the 1250s for the king and the bishop or patriarch. These later artists also appear to be working in secular, not ecclesiastical workshops, which were readily available to the resident local aristocracy, to the merchants, and to educated soldiers whether inside or outside the Military Orders. It is certainly unlikely that these artists were working in the scriptorium of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, or one of the houses belonging to the established monastic or mendicant orders. In fact, it is arguably likely that some or all of these artists were laymen, who were working commercially to make a living. This, of course, had long been the case in Paris, in fact since just before 1200; now it appears to be happening in Acre as well. Thus what emerges in Acre in the 1270s with greater clarity than we have been able to see before is a new kind of patronage, well beyond the royal, patriarchal and episcopal commissions found earlier. This patronage reflects a broader and more diverse cross-section of Frankish society in the Crusade East – educated nobles, bourgeois, merchants, confraternities, and soldiers – together with a new class of lay artists. We shall be interested to see if the evidence for manuscript painting in the 1280s in Acre continues to support this view of artistic production.

The most important manuscript produced in the 1280s in Acre appears to have been a large and magnificent *Histoire Universelle* (London, British Library, Add. MS 15268).[48] It was apparently done for the new king. But it may have been commissioned by the aristocracy of Acre corporately, as a gift to honor the new king, Henry II, on the occasion of his coronation in August of 1286. Not since the Arsenal Bible had there been an Acre book done for a king. In this case the commission could have been made sometime after Henry II was named successor to the King of Cyprus in May 1285, when it was known that he would subsequently be crowned King of Jerusalem in Tyre in August of 1286. This meant that there must have been several months lead time to prepare the illustrated book, but given the large size of the manuscript, and the large number of miniatures, 43, several artists would be needed. Accordingly, work got underway in late 1285 or early 1286 by a group of artists commissioned to produce an illustrated *Histoire Universelle* that in some meaningful way celebrated the culture of the Frankish society of which Henry II was part. The resulting book, presumably presented to him in Acre during the great fête in his honor, is the most remarkable Crusader example of the *Histoire Universelle*. Although its cycle is based on the earlier examples now in Dijon and Brussels, discussed above, this royal book has a number of distinguishing, indeed unique features.

Even though the number of miniatures (43) is not as large as that found in the Dijon codex (50), the miniatures are designed to be much larger than those in either of the two

earlier cycles. Besides full-page and three-quarter-page miniatures, there are many large rectangular panels that stretch over two full text columns. Furthermore, the artists working on this book are part of a large workshop, one which was also producing another illustrated *History of Outremer* codex at about the same time. What are the distinctive features of this royal book?

For one thing it is a gift book, in effect a major diplomatic gift in which the Crusader patrons mean to offer a work that represents the best of the Frankish culture of Acre. This means that the same content reflected in the Dijon and Brussels miniatures is expressed even more effectively in these miniatures. To start with, the level of quality of the artistic work is much higher in the London *Histoire Universelle*. Despite the fact that there are many artists, some working in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, some in an Italo-Byzantine Crusader style, the master in charge of this project has made sure the quality of the painting maintained a high standard. Secondly, there are certain new emphases in this book, for example, an increase in the number of

92. (right top) ***Histoire Universelle*** **(London, British Library, Add. MS 15268): fol. 16r, King Ninus enthroned (21.6 x 16.4 cm)**
The London *Histoire Universelle* has very large and important miniatures done by a group of at least five or six artists who worked in variations of the Franco-Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine Crusader styles seen earlier in manuscripts and icons. This large and impressive image of the mythological King Ninus clearly evokes the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style at its best with Gothic colorism, Byzantine regalia, Crusader Gothic pointed arch architecture and possibly even Italo-Byzantine military body guards on each side of the throne. The round-backed throne even reminds us of the remarkable image in the Mellon Madonna, which is probably slightly earlier than this miniature that is very likely dated 1286.

93. (right) ***Histoire Universelle*****: fol. 149r, Queen Camilla (11.9 x 16.3 cm)**
This image of Queen Camilla meeting with Turnus, one of the interesting depictions of the Amazons in this book, is remarkable also because of the heraldry used for her personal standard. The knight riding behind her carries a banner with gold and azure blue lozenges, the very same heraldry found on the shields which appear on the frontispiece miniature (fig. 94) to this manuscript. The painting on the shields there is very damaged but careful inspection will verify the painted design. As yet no one has been able to identify whose historical heraldry this may be, but if and when it is identified, it may shed light on the ownership of this handsome manuscript.

scenes with crowned rulers and a discernible emphasis on the imagery of leadership and rulership. Indeed the image of the legendary King Ninus enthroned with soldiers on fol. 16r clearly evokes the ideal of a Crusader king in terms of his Byzantine-inspired costume and rather grand throne decorated with busts of saints. We also see the Gothic blue and red colorism combined with the pointed trefoil arch of the architectural setting, and the rich ornamental repertoire including a rather monumental frame which evokes the idea of a dedicatory image of the king (fig. 92).

There is also a very strong interest in scenes which contain heraldry, obviously a new type of imagery of great interest to the military aristocracy in the Crusader East which was shared by Henry II, as we know from looking at the coins issued in his reign. Images with recognizeable and colorful heraldic designs appear on at least 13 scenes, and heraldry is a major theme in a number of these images. Most but not all the heraldry is imaginary. For the first time, there is heraldry in blue and gold which appears in the miniature of Queen Camilla, fol. 149r (fig. 93), material that also corresponds to the shields with heraldic arms that appear now, albeit very damaged, on the frontispiece full-page miniature at the top and bottom of the central zone. Just who these arms may belong to is of course a major issue which has not yet been worked out, but this correspondence represents a new step in the use of heraldry as imagery in these secular manuscripts.

Mention of the frontispiece leads us to recognize its unique importance in this manuscript (fig. 94). Images of the Lord and the days of creation as found on the Genesis page of the Arsenal Bible and on the Creation scenes of the Dijon and Brussels *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts appear here, exemplifying the Franco-Byzantine imagery well known in traditional Crusader painting. But this frontispiece has also received the four Evangelist symbols and three seraphim, which of course gives this Creation scene a more impressive cosmic reference than we see in the other examples. Meanwhile the border, even more monumental than we saw with the King Ninus image on fol. 16r, has received figural imagery on all four sides. At the top we find a feasting scene with, in the center, a dignitary dressed in eastern costume for whom seven musicians and a dancing

94. *Histoire Universelle*: fol. 1v, Frontispiece with the Creation of the World from Genesis (30.0 x 20.0 cm)
The frontispiece is an impressive combination of Franco-Byzantine-inspired biblical scenes of the creation from the Book of Genesis, with the outer border appearing to be based on Arab painting from the School of Baghdad. This border contains animals and hunters on the lower three sides, and across the top we have an Arab prince entertained by a dancer and seven music makers. The shields with the painted heraldry – now badly damaged – appear on the center axis top and bottom inside the border. The interstices otherwise are filled with seraphim, with the four evangelist symbols, and with floral ornament perhaps inspired by stained-glass windows. It is a remarkable frontispiece page which, like many other miniatures in this book, serves to express the multicultural diversity of the Crusader East in its imagery.

girl perform. It seems to be an evocation of the very festivities that King Henry II was being treated to in Acre during the two-week celebration of his coronation. What is most significant about this is the fact that these figures, and the motifs of hunters and animals, long an index of royal iconography in the Near East, are derived from Muslim thirteenth-century art, such as manuscripts of the Baghdad School. In particular it appears that this type of frame is closely related to dedicatory pages in certain texts specially commissioned by a high official. The fact that a sophisticated Muslim example could be transformed for use in a dedicatory book for the new Crusader king, Henry II, is evidence of the remarkable artistic acculturation that we find in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem at this point.

The London *Histoire Universelle* must have been done by August of 1286 in time to be presented to the new king, Henry II, in Acre with suitable fanfare. It represents the very best of traditional Crusader painting in Acre with its richly diverse multicultural content in terms of style and iconography. Significantly, however, its miniatures do not reflect the newest popular style in Acre, Parisian French Gothic, a style

95. (above) **Bible in Old French (Morgan Library, New York, MS 494): fol. 302r, Psalm 26, the coronation of King David with marginal drolleries (5.2 x 4.7 cm)**
Before leaving Paris at the end of the 1270s, the Paris-Acre Master painted in several manuscripts including this one-volume Bible for which he did the illustrations for the Book of Psalms. Here we see the exact same figure style and *mise en scène* as are found in the miniatures of the Bible selections codex done in Acre c. 1280 (fig. 96). Moreover the stylistic details of design such as the drapery outlines, the facial features, and the hair with characteristic curls over the ears indicate this is the same artist working in Paris before leaving for the Crusader Kingdom in the East.

96. (left) **Bible in Old French (Paris, BNF, MS n. acq. fr. 1404): fol. 226v, II Maccabees: John Hyrcanus rides to defend Jerusalem (6.85 x 6.8 cm)**
The French Gothic style of the Paris-Acre Master is a major new development in Acre in the 1280s, and this manuscript appears to be the earliest example from the Crusader East. The Maccabees were thought to be the ancestors of the Crusaders in biblical lore, and here they are depicted as French Crusader knights riding to Jerusalem. The reasons behind why the Paris-Acre Master left Paris to come to Acre remain obscure, but his popularity once he arrived in the capital city was great.

which had already existed there since about 1280. In principle, it is not surprising to find this style in Acre; it was just at this time that Paris had become the foremost center of manuscript illumination in Europe. Futhermore, the presence of Parisian Gothic style in Acre simply attests to the strong Parisian artistic link to Acre that clearly had not diminished since it was first established by Louis IX in the 1250s. We know about this style and its main practitioner, an artist called the Paris-Acre Master, from a series of manuscripts written and decorated between 1276 and 1286 in Paris and Acre. Originally trained in Paris, this artist worked on at least three different manuscripts there between 1276 and 1280 (fig. 95). Arriving in Acre this master proceeded to work on three additional manuscripts between about 1280 and 1286.[49]

We do not know how or why this master came to Acre *c.* 1280. There was no crusade expedition that year; Charles of Anjou, King of Acre, was pursuing his plans to invade Byzantium. Kalavun was preoccupied with the Mongols. Perhaps our artist came on pilgrimage and decided to stay in the Latin Kingdom. The remarkable fact is that the purely Parisian French Gothic style that he practiced when he arrived in Acre changed very little, if at all, during the time he was there. He became a "Crusader painter" because of the commissions he received from resident Crusaders, but his personal style remained resolutely the mature and fully developed French Gothic he brought with him. In effect Crusader painting expanded its multicultural scope to include high-style French Gothic during the time he was in residence.

Among the manuscripts he painted between 1280 and 1286, we find an interesting array of texts. First, there is a book of Old Testament Bible selections (Paris, BNF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 1404) (fig. 96), a book written in Old French with texts related to the Arsenal Bible, but illustrations all done in the new French Gothic style.

The second manuscript is an Old French text of Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (fig. 97). The text was translated from the Latin by a certain John of Antioch for a knight of the Hospital, William of St. Stephen, a famous Hospitaller legal scholar. The translation and the illustrations for these texts were "done in Acre in the year of

97. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, by Cicero (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 433 (590): fol. 45r, Zeuxis paints the image of Helen for the citizens of Croton (6.75 x 8.45 cm)
This important manuscript – a standard Latin schoolbook at the time – was translated by John of Antioch from Latin to Old French for William of St. Stephen, a well-known Hospitaller legal scholar. Then it was illustrated by the Paris-Acre Master, who had recently arrived from Paris. The colophonic information indicates the original was done in Acre in 1282. It is the only secular book from Acre that has documentary written information that provides a time and place, so *sui generis*, this codex is as important as the Perugia Missal is for the attribution of Crusader service books to Acre. This charming image tells a famous classical story about Zeuxis painting the image of Helen, represented here entirely in terms of Gothic imagery.

the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, m.cc.lxxx.ii." as the colophonic information tells us.[50] Just like the miniatures in the various *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts we have seen, the Paris-Acre Master transforms the stories of antiquity in this book into the most charming and appealing evocations of medieval life in an artistic culture pervaded by French Gothic style and familiar biblical imagery. The famous story of Zeuxis who is commissioned by the citizens of Croton to paint an image of Helen of Troy depicts ideal examples of male and female beauty. We see the male athletes who exercise in the palaestra of the city, and the women who gather as models for the image of the supremely beautiful Helen. But "painting" an image of Helen is interpreted to mean the polychromy of a *statue-colonne* on the Gothic architecture of this "classical" temple.

Finally, for the third manuscript, not surprisingly there is a *History of Outremer* codex (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 9084), in which the Paris-Acre Master did 17 of the 22 miniatures (fig. 98). The other five miniatures are done by artists from the workshop of the London *Histoire Universelle* discussed

98. *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 9084): fol. 182v, Book 15, Siege of Shayzar with Crusaders, refusing to fight, remaining in camp (8.0 x 15.4)
This large panel miniature stretches across two columns of text and represents the Byzantine Emperor, John Komnenos, attacking Shayzar in Syria while the Crusader prince of Antioch and count of Edessa refuse to join him. The large panels are a special feature of this codex of the *History of Outremer* apparently derived from the first five miniatures of this book, which were started in the format and style of the London *Histoire Universelle*. The Paris-Acre Master was then commissioned to complete this book by painting 17 additional panel miniatures. In painting these miniatures in his first *History of Outremer* codex in Acre, the Paris-Acre Master chose to follow the narrative cycle of scenes found in earlier Crusader manuscripts, with some slight variations. Here, for example, he shows the Crusader knights in camp, but not playing chess as in the Lyon codex (fig. 91). But his miniatures are done entirely in his own thoroughly French Gothic style as seen in his two earlier Bible manuscripts (figs. 95, 96).

99. *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. Municipale, MS 142): fol. 153v, Book 15, the Siege of Shayzar with Crusaders playing chess in camp (11.0 x 7.2 cm)
In the earlier manuscript by this artist, Paris BNF MS fr. 9084, the Book 15 double-column panel miniature represented the Crusader knights sitting in camp with their weapons, refusing to fight. In this miniature done perhaps a year later, 1287, by the same painter, the format is changed into a vertical double-decker panel format one column wide with an active battle above – the attack on Shayzar – and below, the Crusaders are sitting very clearly cross-legged while playing chess in camp. It is an iconography we have already seen in the earlier Lyon codex (fig. 91). It is evident that the Paris-Acre Master has not changed his Parisian Gothic style at all in this later miniature, but he has been studying the Crusader narrative cycle of images. To this extent he is developing as a Crusader artist.

above. This is yet another secular manuscript in the vernacular to be illustrated in Acre.

The fact that the Paris-Acre Master worked for a prominent knight, William of St. Stephen, in the Hospitaller Order in 1282 demonstrates that his reputation was well known and his work was in demand. His popularity continued into the second half of the decade. Following the completion of the *History of Outremer* codex (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 9084) jointly carried out with the artists of the royal *Histoire Universelle* workshop in 1286, this master was commissioned to do a second *History of Outremer* manuscript (Boulogne sur Mer, Bibl. Municipale, MS 142) immediately thereafter, in 1287. He begins this cycle by copying the first five miniatures of the earlier *History of Outremer* (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 9084), which were done in an Italo-Byzantine Crusader style, but transforming their imagery into his distinctive French Gothic style and iconography. In the 17 images that follow, he incorporates certain aspects of the Acre cycle – there is a French Gothic interpretation of the Arab-inspired chess game at book 17 – and he introduces some distinctly new aspects of color in his palette, such as the expanded use of yellows, and a remarkable lime green (fig. 99).

It can be no surprise that the most popular text commissioned by patrons of the Paris-Acre Master is the *History of Outremer*; all together he works on three different extant examples. He also illustrates a text known as the *Faits des Romains* (Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10212). This is a book of Roman history reflecting the vogue in late thirteenth-century Acre for history texts of one kind or other among the military aristocracy. It was in Old French and was in effect a continuation of the much more popular *Histoire Universelle*. The Paris-Acre Master in fact did no known *Histoire Universelle*, but one of his assistants painted an important codex with 49 panel miniatures (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 20125) (fig. 100). It is also in a French Gothic style, but the assistant, although competent, is not as elegant nor is he as charming as his master. One of the most interesting aspects of this 1287 manuscript is, however, the fact that the remarkable emphasis on the Amazons seen in the other Acre *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts is found, but what is new is that they are represented in a decidedly positive role as defenders of the social order. Scholars have recently suggested that this new interpretation may indicate the existence of a female donor for this codex, something we already have seen with icon painting, and that in this case the female donor might have been Alice, Countess of Blois. Alice came to the Holy Land in 1287 and lived there for nearly a year before she died in Acre in 1288.[51]

100. *Histoire Universelle* (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 20125): fol. 83v, Creation scenes from Genesis, and the illuminated initial, "Q" (panel: 25.4 x 6.8 cm)
The artist who paints this "Universal History" codex is closely related to the Paris-Acre Master, but not the same artist. He may have been a Frankish resident in Acre who apprenticed with the Paris-Acre Master. The style of the figural miniature and the monumental illuminated initial is quite strongly linear with very busy patterning that results in a decidedly two-dimensional flat surface design. The figures, while charming, are somewhat ungainly in their proportions and wooden in their gestures. Yet the colorism and the basic inspiration are again Gothic and this second artist also attests to the popularity of the French Gothic style in Acre in the 1280s.

Probably the most unusual text to be illustrated by the Paris-Acre Master was the *Livre des Assises* by Jean d'Ibelin in Old French (Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (=265))[52] (fig. 101). This book was the most famous of all legal treatises on the feudal customs and the workings of the *haute cour* in the Latin Kingdom. The Crusaders were, of course, famous for their interest in the law. As Joshua Prawer has written, "The kingdom's nobility developed … a passionate and even fanatic interest in law and legality. In no contemporary Christian nobility was knowledge of customary law and procedure and mastery over the intricacies of constitutional law so cultivated and cherished as in the Latin Kingdom."[53] This is the only copy of the *Livre des Assises* extant which is illustrated. For the headpiece of the text the Paris-Acre Master has represented a meeting of the *haute cour* with the king and the patriarch presiding more or less as equals. It is a manuscript done in the late 1280s, one of the last books painted by the Paris-Acre Master. With the headpiece miniature in French Gothic style, the book serves as an eloquent statement of the Crusader interest in law, seen also in the commission executed in 1282 for the Hospitaller lawyer, William of St. Stephen. We may well wonder what other school books and law books might have been illustrated that are now lost.

At this point we may also wonder if the characteristic multicultural Crusader style so prominent before 1280 died out in Acre during its last 11 years of existence. The answer is, of course, that it did not; we have already seen as one example the ambitious *Histoire Universelle* manuscript now in London identified as a gift for the new King Henry II. But the most remarkable examples of final glory in this style are found, not in manuscript illumination, but in icon painting. There are in fact three icons of special merit, all done in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style that provide us with the best-quality examples of Crusader icon painting in the 1280s.

The first example is an iconostasis beam, now at the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai.[54] It is short, measuring only 165.8 x 43 cm, and now cut down on the right and left ends. But the painting of the Deësis group in the center, with evangelists and saints at the ends, is of outstanding quality (fig. 102). In response to his commission to do this beam the artist must have had to make a special

101. (left) *Livre des Assises*, by Jean d'Ibelin (Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. app. 20): the *Haute Cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem (panel: 7.9 x 13.9 cm)

This frontispiece page is unique because it is the only miniature in the only extant Crusader law book to be illustrated. The Paris-Acre Master has created an image of the *Haute Cour*, consisting of laymen and clerics with the king and patriarch seated more or less as equals, meeting in Jerusalem. The Crusader standard, an equal-armed red cross on a white ground, flies from a lofty tower overhead. Executed in the consistent French Gothic style of the Paris-Acre Master it appears to be one of the last manuscripts he illustrated before the fall of Acre in 1291.

102. (below) **Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: iconostasis beam, with the Deësis group of Christ, the Virgin and St. John the Baptist in the center; with additional Saints including George, Luke, John, and Peter at the left, and Paul, Matthew, Mark, and Procopios at the right (43.3 x 168.5 cm)**

This was originally a rectangle 1.685 m wide by 43.3 cm high, but has now been cut down at an angle on each end. All eleven bust-length figures still survive, but the military saint at each end has had its pointed-arch niche trimmed off at the top. The Deësis group at the center, with Christ flanked by the interceding figures of the Virgin at his proper right side and St. John the Baptist at his proper left side, dominate the beam by their slightly larger proportional size and the rich strong colors of their drapery. Notice how large the heads of the central three are as compared to Sts. Peter and Paul who flank them.

The artist was working in an Italo-Byzantine Crusader style, but he has incorporated various French Gothic aspects such as the red and blue garments of the figures of Christ and the Virgin, as well as those of the four evangelists and the two military saints. This beam is unique among extant examples at Sinai because of its choice of saints, the use of pointed-arch niches, and the outstanding quality of the painting.

(See detail on title page)

103. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: bilateral icon, Crucifixion (obverse) (120.5 x 68.0 cm)
The characteristic Crusader imagery of the Crucifixion already seen in the Perugia Missal (fig. 71) is found here, including the three-nail Gothic iconography. But the painter of this image is working in a monumental Veneto-Byzantium Crusader style that is both disciplined and strongly linear. The basic refinement, sophisticated color, and high quality of the style link it to certain other icons such as the bilateral icon of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos (fig. 81). The presence of specific details reinforce such connections; consider the star motif on the Virgin's maroon maphorion which is found on the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* – the obverse image of the Sts. Sergios and Bacchos icon – and on the cuff of the Virgin on the right wing of the diptych icon discussed below (fig. 106). These icons all appear to come from the same workshop, but their patrons seem varied. In the case of the Crucifixion here, all the inscriptions are in Latin, so a Crusader patron of some kind seems indicated.

104. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: bilateral icon, *Anastasis* (reverse) (120.5 x 68.0 cm)
This is a Crusader interpretation of the Byzantine Easter picture. It is Christ, the King of Glory, in a dramatic starburst mandorla surrounded by the worthies of the Old Testament whom he is liberating from hades. The icon is remarkable because it includes, besides Adam and Eve, and David and Solomon, and St. John the Baptist, a representation of Aaron, the brother of Moses. Aaron was present at the episode of the Burning Bush at Sinai, so he indicates site-specific iconography referring to the possible commission of this icon at the Monastery of St. Catherine itself. Aaron, David and Solomon all wear garments lavishly decorated with *çintamani*, ornament apparently indicating their special importance.

selection of bust-length figures to fit the unusually short width of this dossal. The formal characteristics of Christ and the saints are seen in a monumental style with figures of slender but substantial proportions. The faces and draperies are strongly articulated with clear linear definition, a moderate compact volume is achieved in the three-dimensional modeling with the use of gentle highlighting, and the eyes are given the characteristic spectacled-eye convention so typical of Acre painting. In fact the artist works in a linear style very similar to paintings found in Venice from the late thirteenth century: two panels with images of St. John the Baptist and St. Andrew dated 1281 and done in a somewhat less defined and more painterly Venetian style. But here in Acre this style is combined with Byzantine linear severity and colorism derived from the French Gothic influence in the 1280s. Notice the figure of Christ in a red tunic with a blue cloak, the Virgin Mary in a medium blue tunic and a reddish maroon maphorion, and the colorful hues used for the other saints. Note also the pointed arches which create the effect of a Gothic loggia for each of the 11 holy figures on this beam. The result is a first-rate work no doubt done for a special small chapel setting which corresponds to the size found in this beam.

A much more monumental version of this same style, by a different artist, is seen in an impressive bilateral icon with the Crucifixion on the obverse, and the Anastasis on the reverse[55] (figs. 103 and 104). The Crusader imagery is immediately apparent, with the characteristic iconography of the Crucifixion seen already in Acre in the 1250s. But now the Christ is fixed to the cross with three nails, a peculiarly Gothic choice seen earlier only in the Perugia Missal Crucifixion. But unlike that example this figure of Christ is "Herculean," not slender and weightless. The linear rhythms of this work are much more prominent than those on the figures of the iconostasis beam; look at the cascading "v" folds on the loincloth of Christ and the cloak of St. John the Baptist. There can be no doubt of the Crusader patronage, with this icon given the emotionally charged representation of sorrow and mourning, and given the unparalleled presence of Latin inscriptions for Christ and the two saints. On the iconostasis beam, by contrast, all of the inscriptions painted in fine red display script are in Greek.

On the reverse of this icon there is an equally impressive representation of the Byzantine Easter picture, the Anastasis. Set against a dark sky with silver five-pointed stars, Jesus striding forward in a blaze of glory grasps the arm of Adam as he prepares to lead the worthies of the Old Testament out of Hades. It is the facial types of the aged Adam and Eve with their tufted eyebrows that have led some to see close parallels in this work with the two Venetian panels of Sts. John and Andrew mentioned above. Others have seen even stronger similarities in the voluminous mosaic work going on in the Church of San Marco in Venice at this time. It is, of course, not surprising to find a strong Venetian artistic presence in Acre following their successful victory in the War of St. Sabas in Acre in 1258 and its desultory continuation later. What is interesting, however, is to find that this artist with his Venetian background is working in a fully developed Crusader Veneto-Byzantine style so distinct from what is found in Venice. We see it in the colorism of this icon, in the strength of the forms, in the *çintamani* ornament with its possible Mongol origins, and in the site-specific iconography which relates this icon to Mt. Sinai. The standard Byzantine iconography of the Anastasis has Christ with Adam and Eve, David and Solomon, and St. John the Baptist. But here there are eight figures with Christ, the four most important besides Jesus indicated by haloes. The fourth figure with the halo is the most unusual; it is Aaron, brother of Moses who was present at the episode of the Burning Bush. He is standing here in his *çintamani* covered robe, holding a shofar. The large size and weight of this icon have led some to doubt that it was a processional icon. It may have been mounted on a templon screen in a chapel, perhaps the Latin Chapel of the Franks at St. Catherine's Monastery, where this artist may also have worked.

The third work in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style from the mid- to late 1280s is a magnificent diptych depicting the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* on the right wing with the figure of St. Prokopios on the left wing[56] (figs. 105 and 106). The program of this diptych and the level of quality achieved in its painting are both extraordinary. There can be no doubt of the strong affinity of this artist with the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of the two contemporary icons of the iconostasis beam and the bilateral Crucifixion and

105. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: diptych, St. Procopios (left wing) (50.9 x 39.9 cm)
The left wing depicts Christ above with three soldier saints, St. Procopios, the main cult figure, and the diminutive full-length images of Sts. Theodore and George in the lower right and left corners of the frame. The combination of the Virgin and Child with soldier saints is rare in Byzantium, but this is an obvious pairing for the Crusaders, who found icons of the soldier saints to be among their most popular commissions. The fact that St. Procopios, a saint specially venerated in Jerusalem, is combined with an image of the Virgin and Child reflecting a holy icon of the *Kykkotissa* on Cyprus, and that all the inscriptions here are in Greek suggests that this icon may have been done for a very special patron with links to the Crusader mainland and to Cyprus. The outstanding style, sophisticated color palette, and lavish chrysography reinforce the idea that this icon was commissioned by a discerning patron for a very important person, perhaps a high church official at Sinai.

106. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: diptych, Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing) (50.5 x 39.9 cm)
This remarkable image reflects the iconography of the Cypriot holy icon known as the *Kykkotissa*. This icon, believed to have been painted by St. Luke, was located in the Monastery of Kykkos on Cyprus. The splendor of the Virgin's scarlet veil covered with golden filigree designs and the Child's luxurious pearl-encrusted silk jump suit highlights a very powerful and distinctive visualization of these holy figures. The Virgin and St. Procopios are further linked by their sophisticated chrysography which articulates the shape of their complex draperies. Just as the left wing stresses Christ and the soldier saints, the right wing complements this with site-specific imagery pertaining to Sinai on the painted frame. There is the Virgin of the Burning Bush above, the image of St. Catherine, patroness of the Monastery, below, and on each side we find along with Moses, eastern monastic or ecclesiastical saints – all relevant in one way or other to Sinai and the services or monastic practices in its Monastery of St. Catherine. The deep glow of the gold on this diptych represents how the icon looks in candlelight.

Anastasis discussed above. In this case, however, the painter seems to have even broader, one might say "international" stylistic links with the *maniera cypria* icon style connected to Syria on Cyprus, with royal Armenian painting, and with icon painting at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, as well as with the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in Acre. One art historian suggests that this artist was a Christian monk of Syrian origin who had connections with Syria and Sinai, and was working at Sinai.[57] Of all the examples of Crusader icon painting, this diptych exhibits what seems to be the richest combination of formal elements. But the Crusader characteristics in the imagery and the program are not in doubt.

It is rare to find the combination of the Virgin and Child with a soldier saint in Byzantine diptychs, but we see the continued interest in soldier saints here, as in the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints," appearing in the main cult figure and in the diminutive figures of saints on the frames. The St. Procopios image evokes a miraculous icon in Jerusalem, now lost, and the Virgin and Child reflects a holy icon from Cyprus, the original of which was said to have been painted by St. Luke. In this case the figure of Procopios is represented in the elegant military costume appropriate to his rank as the Duke of Alexandria in antiquity. The Virgin and Child reflects a Cypriot icon with her eye-catching scarlet veil, and the Child's red harness seems Cypriot in origin as well, but the remarkable pose of the child and his amazing silk jumpsuit appear to be a unique creation of this Crusader artist. Meanwhile the saints in the border that surround the two main cult figures are thematically distinct. Great emphasis is put on site-specific iconography linking the Virgin and this icon to Sinai in the appearance of the Virgin of the Burning Bush and the image of St. Catherine, on the right wing for example. On the left wing, we find an array of saints connected to the Byzantine liturgy associated with St. Prokopios. But clearly the main idea is Prokopios represented as a soldier of Christ.

We also see the accumulation of Crusader formal details on these two wings, such as the pearl dot haloes in both simple and more elaborate versions, and the gold and jeweled diadems on the soldier saints. There are the golden lozenges on black borders lining the frames, and the appearance of additional ornament found in a number of other Crusader works. We see the gold heart-shaped designs with flourishes seen on the brilliant scarlet veil of the Virgin here and on the bier of the Virgin in a slightly earlier Crusader icon of the Dormition. There is a golden four-petaled star on the cuff of the Virgin that is similar to the ornament on the sleeve of the Virgin *Hodegetria* from the bilateral icon with the two soldier saints, done in the 1260s and discussed earlier. We find the appearance of the *çintamani* design on the tunics of St. George and St. Theodore on the frame around the Virgin and Child. But the main important ornamental feature of this icon is its extraordinarily lavish use of chrysography, the golden high-lighting that is found on the majority of figures on both wings.

The idea of chrysography, as seen here, developed in middle-Byzantine art especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Crusader painters take it over in their icons done during the thirteenth century. The Crusader interpretation of Byzantine chrysography is quite careful and follows its model closely, but it is not exactly the same. Chrysography is, of course, expensive because of the use of gold, and there are not very many Crusader icons that have it. This diptych exhibits the most elegant and richly developed examples of Crusader chrysography both in technique and in the specific ways the linear highlights are applied to the figures and in the specific forms found in the highlights.

All of the inscriptions found on this icon are in Greek in contrast to the bilateral icon with the Crucifixion, where they are all in Latin. This leads one to wonder who the patron could have been and for what function the icon was commissioned. I have suggested a wealthy Venetian merchant pilgrim might have ordered this icon as a gift to a high Greek Orthodox prelate at St. Catherine's Monastery. The artist, who is one of the greatest of all Crusader artists, was certainly steeped in the traditions of Crusader and Byzantine painting and it seems most likely he may have been working at Sinai when he did this icon.

It is remarkable to think that the three icons we have presented above, all in closely related versions of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, were probably done in the mid-1280s. This means they were done at more or less the same time as the wonderful London *Histoire Universelle*

manuscript, and the work of the Paris-Acre Master in the *History of Outremer* manuscripts now in Paris (Paris, BNF, MS fr. 9084) and Boulogne sur Mer (MS 142). For a few years surrounding the hopeful moment of the appearance of a new King of Jerusalem in 1286 in Tyre and Acre, the development of Crusader Art reaches a pinnacle of remarkable originality, quality, multicultural richness, and diversity. Unfortunately this phase is short-lived. After the fall of Tripoli in 1289, however, it is only a matter of time until the Mamluks turn the attention of their considerable military power against Acre. But interesting works of Crusader Art continue to be produced.

The Last Works of Crusader Art in Acre, 1289–1291

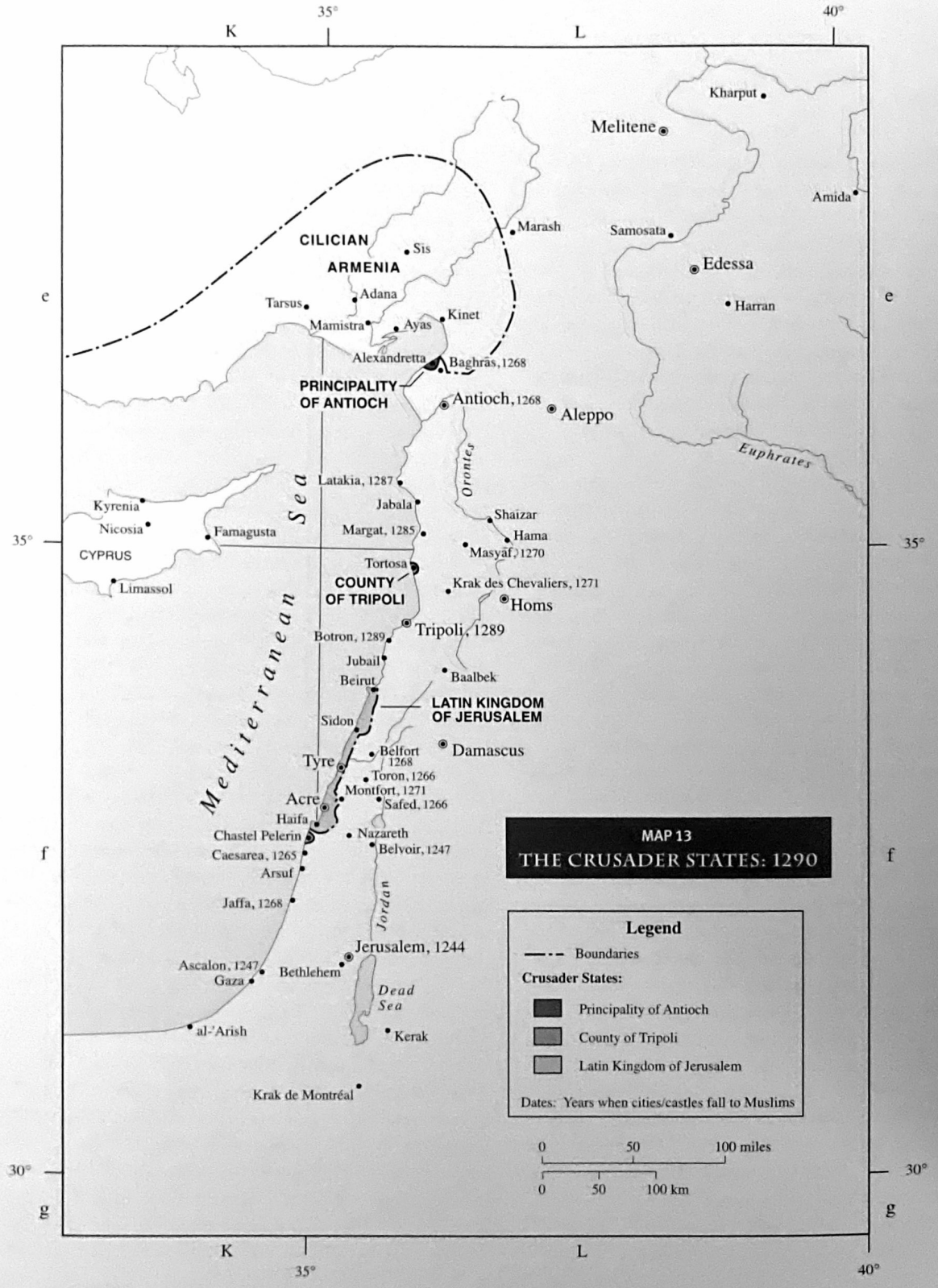
In the months following the fall of Tripoli, appeals to the West for a new crusade fell on mostly deaf ears. The pope, of course, issued a call for aid, and he himself sent some money to the patriarch of Jerusalem, but Sicily was his first priority problem at this point. The Venetians were genuinely alarmed, fearing for their commercial establishment. A small expedition made up of north Italians materialized and sailed east in Venetian ships, but in the end they did more harm than good. Arriving in Acre these men attacked local Arab merchants unprovoked. The Mamluk Sultan Kalavun judged this action to have violated the truce between him and the Crusaders. He prepared for war (Map 13).

On November 11, 1290, however, Kalavun suddenly died after a short illness. Once again the Crusaders appeared to have won a chance reprieve, but not for long. In this case the succession in Cairo was passed quickly to his eldest son, al-Ashraf Khalil. When the Crusaders learned about the new Sultan taking power, they sent a delegation with diplomatic gifts to present their congratulations. Al-Ashraf Khalil rebuffed the delegates and had them thrown into prison. The new Sultan sent a letter to the Master of the Templars informing him of his coming campaign. The chronicler known as the "Templar of Tyre," tersely reported what happened next: "The sultan came before Acre and besieged it on Thursday the 5th of April, in the year 1291 of the Incarnation of Christ, ..."[58]

The Mamluk army was huge: estimates have ranged up to 200,000 men. Acre was a large fortified city of perhaps 40,000 people, but the Crusader soldiers were vastly outnumbered (see Map 11). Non-combatants who could do it arranged to flee. All through the siege ships came and went from the harbor, bringing new defenders and saving fleeing refugees. Presumably some of the portable works of Crusader Art that survive today from Acre were taken out this way. On May 18 the Mamluks broke into the city taking everything except the Templar stronghold on the southern point of the city. The Templar fortress there held out until May 28, 1291. Acre, capital of the Latin Kingdom, one of the most heavily fortified and strongly defended Crusader cities had fallen in a siege of just 41 days! The Mamluks took no prisoners.

During the siege of Acre, Tyre had surrendered on May 22 and a month later, Sidon fell. Beirut was taken on July 22. The Templars in Chastel Pelerin left for Cyprus on July 30. The Mamluks captured Tortosa, the last of the mainland Crusader holdings on August 3, 1291. Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil had finally realized the dream of both Baybars and Kalavun, to throw the Crusaders into the sea. The Crusader States in Syria–Palestine had come to an end.

In this final period it is striking that the most active artist we can identify is the Paris-Acre Master. Now no longer a recent arrival, he had apparently worked in Acre continuously for about ten years. Three works are possibly attributed to him in the years 1289 to the fall of Acre in May 1291. We have seen above the illustration he executed for the *Livre des Assises* of Jean d'Ibelin. In the late 1280s he also prepared a set of drawings for the text of the *Credo* of Jean de Joinville, a work written in 1250–1251 when Joinville was in Acre.[59] It appears these drawings were done as cartoons for monumental paintings meant to decorate the walls of a special chapel in Acre. No chapel survived the destruction of Acre ordered by al-Ashraf Khalil, so only the two parchment leaves of the drawings remain as evidence of this project. The last of his works, however, appears to have been a final set of miniatures for yet another *History of Outremer* manuscript (Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Plut. LXI.10).[60] This codex received 25 miniature panels mainly following the canonical cycle of illustrations seen in the two


35°
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Edessa
Harran
Marash
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ARMENIA
Sis
Adana
Tarsus
Mamistra
Ayas
Kinet
Alexandretta
Baghrās, 1268
PRINCIPALITY
OF ANTIOCH
Antioch, 1268
Aleppo
Euphrates
Orontes
Latakia, 1287
Jabala
Shaizar
Margat, 1285
Hama
Masyāf, 1270
Kyrenia
Nicosia
Famagusta
CYPRUS
Limassol
Tortosa
COUNTY
OF TRIPOLI
Krak des Chevaliers, 1271
Homs
Tripoli, 1289
Botron, 1289
Jubail
Beirut
Baalbek
LATIN KINGDOM
OF JERUSALEM
Sidon
Belfort
1268
Damascus
Tyre
Toron, 1266
Montfort, 1271
Acre
Safed, 1266
Haifa
Chastel Pelerin
Nazareth
Belvoir, 1247
Caesarea, 1265
Arsuf
Jaffa, 1268
Jordan
Jerusalem, 1244
Ascalon, 1247
Gaza
Bethlehem
Dead
Sea
al-'Arish
Kerak
Krak de Montréal
Mediterranean Sea
MAP 13
THE CRUSADER STATES: 1290
Legend
Boundaries
Crusader States:
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
Dates: Years when cities/castles fall to Muslims
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 km

107. (right) *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Plut. LXI.10): fol. 292r, Book 24, King Richard I arriving at Acre in 1191 (8.1 x 7.7 cm)
This is one of the last extant miniatures done by the Paris-Acre Master in Acre. It is remarkable that he continued to practice his Parisian Gothic style right up to the fall of the city in 1291. His view of this Crusader warship carrying King Richard to Cyprus and to Acre transforms the combatants into the most genial and charming of characters. They are soldiers who are at once dressed for battle in their chain mail and armed with weapons or carrying decorated shields, but who still symbolize the courtly glamour of warfare at the moment when this chapter of medieval history on the Crusades is about to be closed.

108. (right below) *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre (Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Plut. LXI.10): fol. 336v, Book 26, King Louis IX on the 6th Crusade (panel: 8.55 x 8.85 cm)
The wonderful colorism of Crusader painting has here been brought back to Venice, where a Venetian painter added the final miniature to this codex, left unfinished in Acre. The Venetian painter offers his own interpretation of the Sixth Crusaders with the commanding figure of Louis IX riding his horse caparisoned with the Capetian *fleurs-de-lys*. But looking closely you will find this Italian artist has transformed Louis IX into an Italian noble: the *fleurs-de-lys* are Italianate versions, and the Venetian ships sail on a sea of feathery waves. Even as exotic as the green dragon is, as part of the decoration of this leafy pink and lavender initial "L" this is not Crusader but Venetian art. Crusader art had ended.

earlier manuscripts from 1286 to 1287. But there are some innovations in the imagery, all of which feature a new narrative clarity and his distinctive French Gothic style. The new miniatures mainly appear in the panels done for the continuation of William of Tyre's text. At Book 24 we find a crowned King Richard I attacking Acre by ship in 1191 (fig. 107). At Book 25 there is the coronation of King John of Brienne and Queen Maria of Montferrat-Jerusalem.

The continuation in this book originally broke off at the point where King Louis IX's crusade began. Some years later the continuation was completed to 1277, and it was given a beautifully painted historiated initial. The initial represents King Louis IX setting out on horseback, and then on board ship, heading for the Holy Land on his first Crusade in 1248 (fig. 108). It is done in a handsome and purely Venetian style of the early fourteenth century.

This evidence indicates that the Paris-Acre Master did not complete the manuscript. Left unfinished, the book was saved from destruction in Acre and was taken safely away,

probably to Venice itself, where a different scribe and a different artist completed the work later. The indication that work on this book was suddenly broken off suggests the possibility that the original scribe and the Paris-Acre Master had to stop activity in the face of worsening conditions in Acre. We do not know what the fate of this artist might have been. The fact that no painting by his hand can be identified after the work he did on this manuscript suggests that he did not survive the fall of Acre. Perhaps he fell defending the city. Whatever happened to him, this manuscript appears to be the latest work of Crusader Art produced before Acre fell in May of 1291. And it is certain that when Acre fell on May 28 and the Mamluks took the other Crusader holdings on the mainland by August 3, 1291 the special phenomenon known as the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land – "Crusader Art" – ended.

Notes

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2. Janet Shirley, transl., *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century, The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre Text*, Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing, 1999, pp. 105–06.
3. Joinville, "The Life of Saint Louis," in Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, transl. M.R.B. Shaw, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963, p. 198.
4. Alex Malloy, Irene Preston, and Arthur Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States, 1098–1291*, ed., A.G. Berman, New York: Attic Books, 1994, p. 18.
5. Shirley, transl., *Crusader Syria*, p. 111.
6. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," in Daniel Weiss and Lisa Mahoney, eds., *France and the Holy Land*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, pp. 45–62.
7. The essential studies are: H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, pp. 54–68; D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 81–195; J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 282–95.
8. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 295–310.
9. Rebecca Corrie, "15. Crucifixion with Deesis and Saints," in Robert Nelson and Kristen Collins, eds., *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006, pp. 156–7.
10. F. Wormald, "Appendix 1," in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 108.
11. Cecil L. Striker and Y.D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration*, Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1977, pp. 82–3, 128–42.
12. Malloy, Preston, and Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 175–6.
13. This work was published in a pioneering article by Kurt Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 45 (1963), pp. 179–203.
14. John Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," in K.M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, pp. 385–6, 400, no. 57.
15. On the "workshop of the soldier saints" see, Jaroslav Folda, "The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187–1291: Some New Realities," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 58 (2004) pp. 315–31, esp. p. 318.
16. John Cotsonis, "220. Templon Beam with Feast Scenes," in Helen C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New York, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 362–3.
17. Folda, "The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine", pp. 323–9.
18. P. Crawford, transl., *The "Templar of Tyre", Part III of the "Deeds of the Cypriots"*, Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003, p. 34, no. 303.
19. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 20 (1966), p. 63.
20. Rebecca Corrie, "9. Virgin Hodegetria," in Nelson and Collins, eds, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground*, pp. 144–5.
21. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 328–9, fig. 182.
22. R. Cormack, *Icons*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 69–83, and R. Cormack and S. Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St. George:...", *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 132–41.
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24. Lucy-Anne Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 15 (1991), pp. 96–145.
25. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, p. 338, fig. 196, p. 337, fig. 195, and p. 336, fig. 193, respectively.
26. Jaroslav Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon: *Maniera Cypria, Lingua Franca*, or Crusader

Art?," in Bertrand Davezac, ed., *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, Houston and Austin: Menil Foundation, 1992, pp. 106–33.

27. Important studies include the following: Nada Hélou, "La Mère de Dieu Hodigitria de Kaftoun," in *Icones du Liban*, Paris: Paris Musées, 1996, pp. 22–7; *idem*, "L'Icône Bilatérale de la Vierge de Kaftoun au Liban: Une Oeuvre d'Art Syro-Byzantin à l'Époque des Croises," *Chronos*, vol. 7 (2003), pp. 101–31; M. Immerzeel, "Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners. Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria," *Eastern Christian Art*, vol. 1 (2004), pp. 29 ff., esp. 49–53; J. Folda, "Mounted Warrior Saints in Crusader Icons: Images of the Knighthoods of Christ," in N. Housley, ed., *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007, pp. 87 ff., esp. 91–3, 99–100; and Rebecca Corrie, "50. Double-Sided Icon with Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and with the Virgin," in Nelson and Collins, eds., *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground*, pp. 250–3.

28. Jaroslav Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," in Victor Schmidt, ed., *Italian Panel Paintings of the Duecento and Trecento*, Studies in the History of Art, 61, Washington, D.C., New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002, pp. 123–45.

29. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 87–93.

30. Peter Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

31. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 68–87.

32. J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 463–7.

33. Jaroslav Folda, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, ser. 3, *Rendiconti*, vol. 42 (1969–70), pp. 283–98.

34. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 102.

35. D.S. Rice, *Le Baptistère de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1951; and D. Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation," *Islamic Art*, vol. 3 (1989), pp. 3–13.

36. S. Carboni, "The Aldrevandin Beaker," in S. Carboni and D. Whitehouse, eds., *Glass of the Sultans*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, pp. 302–03, no. 151.

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39. E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. III, New York: Random House [The Modern Library] n.d., p. 501.

40. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasties and the Kings*, in U. and M.C. Lyons, eds. and transl., *Ayyubids, Mamluks and Crusaders*, vol. II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 146.

41. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasties and the Kings*, p. 158.

42. J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn., New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 213.

43. J. M. Rogers, *Empire of the Sultans: Ottoman Art from the Khalili Collection*, 4th edn., London: Nour Foundation, 2000, p. 154.

44. Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958.

45. Crawford, transl., *The "Templar of Tyre", Part III of the "Deeds of the Cypriots"*, p. 101, no. 478.

46. See the color plate in J. Folda, "Art in the Latin East, 1098–1291," in J. Riley-Smith, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, opposite page 148.

47. Numerous color illustrations of Lyon MS 828 are published in the catalogue, *Les Croisades: L'Orient et L'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. Monique Rey-Delqué, Electa: Milan, 1997, *passim*.

48. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 79–87, first identified this codex and attributed it to Acre at the time of the coronation of Henry II. A major new study of this manuscript has recently been completed by Lisa Mahoney, "Re-Presenting the Past: The London *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* in the Holy Land," Ph.D. dissertation at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 2007.

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50. Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976, pp. 42–3.

51. A. Derbes and M. Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders: The Histoire Universelle in Flanders and the Holy Land," in Weiss and Mahoney, eds, *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 187–229.

52. Peter Edbury and Jaroslav Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 57 (1994), pp. 243–54.

53. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972, p. 75.

54. Jaroslav Folda, "235. Iconostasis Beam/Altarpiece with Pointed Arches," in Evans, ed., *Byzantium*, pp. 379–81.

55. Jaroslav Folda, "223. Two-Sided Icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis," in Evans, ed., *Byzantium*, pp. 366–7.

56. Jaroslav Folda, "214. Diptych with Saint Prokopios and the Virgin Kykkotissa," in Evans, ed., *Byzantium*, pp. 355–6.

57. Doula Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," in Konstantinos Manafis, ed., *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S.A., 1990, pp. 118–19, 190–91; and Maria Aspra-Vardavakis, "71. Diptych: A. St. Prokopios, B. The Virgin Kykkotissa, and Saints," in Maria Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Athens and Milan: Skira Editore Spa, 2000, pp. 444–6.

58. Crawford, transl., *The "Templar of Tyre", Part III of the "Deeds of the Cypriots"*, p. 105, no. 489.

59. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 500–03.

60. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 495–7.

EPILOGUE

Crusader Art and its Impact on the West

When the Crusader States on mainland Syria–Palestine were conquered by the Mamluks in the summer of 1291, Crusader Art abruptly ceased in the Holy Land. Many refugees from the Crusader States fled to Cyprus, many fled back to Europe, some of them taking works of art with them. The Hospitallers and Templars relocated their headquarters for a while on Cyprus. The Teutonic Knights moved to Europe directly, first to Venice and then to Marienburg. After the Templars were suppressed between 1307 and 1312, the Hospitallers eventually resettled their headquarters on Rhodes. There was some art done on Cyprus that could be called "Crusader Art on Cyprus," and although it has striking similarities to what we have seen to be Crusader Art in the Latin Kingdom, the County of Tripoli, and the Principality of Antioch, it was essentially different because of its patronage, context, and its function. Crusader Art on Cyprus went on well into the fourteenth century, but Crusader Art in the Holy Land had ended in 1291, just as Crusader Art ended 30 years earlier in the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1261.

Only the memory of Crusader Art lingered on with the coinage of King Henry II of Cyprus. In 1286 he minted a new silver *gros* based on the French coin of Louis IX. On the obverse is a crowned king enthroned, and on the reverse of this coin he introduced the Lion of Cyprus. Sometime after 1300, later versions of this coin were given an equal-armed cross combined with four smaller equal-armed crosslets on the reverse. It is a distinctive insignia never used in the Latin Kingdom on the mainland, but which came to symbolize Crusader Jerusalem and which lived on through fourteenth-century on Cyprus in a second version of the Royal *gros* of Henry II and later kings[1] (fig. 109).

Crusader Art in Syria–Palestine is a surprising phenomenon, one that for a long time after 1291 went unrecognized. When Alberti, Ghiberti, and Vasari started to write about art history, while living in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they knew nothing about it. The existence of Crusader Art has emerged somewhat unexpectedly from study in the nineteenth, twentieth and now, the twenty-first century. Evidence of a Crusader presence is of course most impressive in the Near East in terms of architecture. There are a number of Crusader castles still standing in what is today Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel, lonely sentinels of a long-lost era. Certain Crusader churches are still in use, but a few in ruins survive empty. Some have been transformed to other uses; some are mosques, some are museums or shops. Most of the portable objects like manuscripts and reliquaries have been taken away and Crusader book painting and metalwork are largely found in church treasuries, libraries, and museum collections in Europe. Only in the 1960s was Crusader icon painting discovered, and the greatest collection is presently in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Some of those icons may have been painted at Sinai by Crusader artists, but many more seem to have been painted in Acre, and a few seem to have been done in a center in the County of Tripoli, according to our most recent discoveries. Eventually almost all of these icons were taken to the Monastery at Sinai as gifts. It is a remarkable twist of history that the great Orthodox Monastery of St. Catherine, which was apparently a center of Byzantine icon painting and served as a major Christian pilgrimage site, especially during the thirteenth century when Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth were inaccessible, became a place where a number of Crusader icons were painted and has now emerged as the most important preserver of the Crusader tradition of icon painting.

109. Silver gros of King Henry II with Jerusalem cross
Despite the imagery of Crusaders seen in modern cinema and most recently in the film *Kingdom of Heaven*, the handsome "cross of Jerusalem" seen here appeared on a coin issued in Cyprus only after the fall of Acre in 1291. Even though it was a popular design used on royal coinage on Cyprus all through the fourteenth century, and certainly grew to evoke the memory of Crusader Jerusalem, it apparently was never actually used by the Crusaders on their coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1099 and 1291.

At its beginning Crusader Art started in 1100 as an art largely derived from Western European traditions. During the first generation of settlers in the early twelfth century, Crusader architects and artists were doing their work and attempting to come to terms with a new and different Near Eastern Christian context for artistic production, very different from the places they had left behind in Europe. To paraphrase the chronicler, Fulcher of Chartres, cited above in Chapter 1: they who were Occidentals were becoming Orientals; they who were born in France, or Germany, or England, or Italy, were now becoming citizens of the new Latin East. Jerusalem, the focus of Christian pilgrimage and the center of the developing Crusader government and the newly established Crusader ecclesiastical institutions, quickly emerged as the center of the new Crusader Art.

By the time of the second generation of settlers, Crusader artists were developing a new vision of what constituted Christian art. The more adventuresome younger artists, exposed to manuscript miniatures, mosaics, and frescoes done by Byzantine artists, and to Byzantine artists themselves, had started to learn about the Byzantine tradition of painting. Some Crusader artists, largely western-trained, were now working in ateliers together with other Crusader artists who were exploring the world of Byzantine painting. Corporately, their art began to change as they combined the heritage of their Western European roots with the impressive Byzantine art they found in the Holy Land.

When the third-generation Crusader artists were working in the 1150s and 1160s, they had more fully integrated the Byzantine tradition with their Western European heritage. Furthermore, the Crusader artists were now mostly all interested in some aspects of the Byzantine tradition, either the Greek Orthodox tradition as known from works done in Constantinople, or the Orthodox tradition known in the more immediate circumstances of works done in Syria–Palestine, by Greek artists or local Christian artists. Crusader Art continued to develop as a new phenomenon in which these artists also had the opportunities to work together in workshops with their Greek Orthodox and, on occasion, with their local East Christian counterparts, be they Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Melkite, Syrian Jacobite, Armenian Orthodox, Coptic, Maronite, or possibly even Ethiopian. It was, of course, partly the Christian Holy Sites which brought these artists together, but it was also the new religious interaction, the new commerce, the new political circumstances, the new life, the new visual world which stimulated them. When the first phase of Crusader Art ended with the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, a distinctive new art had emerged in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean world. Crusader Art was an art which was strongly linked to Europe and the Christian Near East, but was uniquely different with its own patrons and artists, and its own special forms, functions, context, and content.

In the face of Saladin's invasion, what was left of the Crusader military establishment, along with Crusader political leaders, Crusader ecclesiastical organizations, Crusader merchants, and, of course, Crusader artists, took temporary refuge in one of the few safe havens that survived, namely Tyre, Tripoli, Tortosa or Antioch. After the Third Crusade reestablished the Latin Kingdom with Acre as its new capital, the Crusader ecclesiastical institutions and the artists apparently all mostly settled there. With the holy city of Jerusalem still under Muslim control, it was the commercial port city of Acre that formed the new center for Crusader Art in the thirteenth century. Other places, such as Nazareth, Tortosa, and especially the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, became the new pilgrimage centers, while Jerusalem and Bethlehem were difficult to access.

As the Crusader Kingdom struggled to reestablish political viability, and new Crusades came East to try to regain the Holy Sites, Crusader artists seemed to continue the visual tradition established in the twelfth century, but their work is known only more sporadically from this period, 1197–1244. Important commissions were achieved for special patrons, but fewer works survive as compared to the twelfth century prior to 1187. The strong ties between the Latin Kingdom and the Hohenstaufen dynasty in Germany and Italy produced interesting changes. New artistic developments continued to emerge despite a debilitating civil war in the Latin East. We find the appearance of Crusader artists with strong German and Sicilian heritage. There is evidence of new, awakening interest in icon painting. But the strength and cohesion of Crusader Art seen in Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the second half of the twelfth century

is not found until the second half of the thirteenth century in Acre.

The years from 1250 to 1291 saw a remarkable flourishing and, one might say, the fullest development of Crusader Art. This occurred partly emerging from foundations laid prior to the advent of King Louis IX in Acre in 1250, partly emerging from the revitalization generated by Louis's presence and patronage in the Latin Kingdom, 1250–1254, and partly emerging from new stimuli coming from local Christians and even non-Christian sources to the East. Not only is the stylistic range in Crusader Art the greatest in these years, but also the imagery and the patronage are the most diverse. We have evidence of additional centers such as Antioch, the County of Tripoli, and St. Catherine's Monastery producing Crusader Art along with Acre. Crusader icon painting becomes a truly major medium. The new medium of secular book illumination joins the traditional religious and biblical book production in a manner which parallels developments in Paris. The links with Paris, initiated in 1250 and forged directly during the years of patronage by King Louis IX, continued through these years with the military presence of the French Regiment in Acre, and the arrival of the Paris–Acre Master in the period *c.* 1280 to 1291. Venice is also a major source of artistic inspiration reflecting their commercial strength in Acre following the War of St. Saba. And as the Crusaders look eastward in their attempts to deal with their Muslim adversaries, the Mamluks, and in their attempts to organize an alliance and even convert the Mongols to Christianity, unexpected artistic stimuli are seen from these sources. In sum, the development of Crusader Art is complex, dynamic, rapidly changing, multicultural and yet tied firmly to Europe and especially to France in the period after 1250.

Reflecting on these developments, two questions that arise from this brief story of Crusader Art are basic. First, having seen what it is and how it developed, how do we define Crusader Art? What is Crusader Art? Second, what was the significance of Crusader Art for the larger history of Medieval Art in Western Europe? What impact did Crusader Art have on the art of Western Europe?

Our proposition here is that Crusader Art is the major art produced in the mainland Crusader States between 1099 and 1291 for Crusader patrons mostly by Crusader, but also by Byzantine or local Christian artists. Crusader Art, that is, the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, constitutes an artistic development that is much more complex and sophisticated than simply a colonial art for the Crusaders, or the art of the Crusader settlers. As we have seen, this art is diverse and includes ecclesiastical art, pilgrimage art, royal art, art for the Military Orders, especially the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. It is religious and secular art for knights, soldiers, men and women of the aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and merchants, most of whom at first were Frankish or Italian Crusaders from the West and later many were Frankish and Italian settlers in the Crusader States. This "Latin East" of the Crusaders comprised the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Tripoli, the Principality of Antioch, and for a brief time, the County of Edessa. Crusader Art in the Holy Land was distinct from the art of the Greek Orthodox or the local Christians in Syria–Palestine, who were Syrian Orthodox or Jacobites, Syrian Melchites, Armenian Orthodox, Copts, Maronites, or Ethiopians. But some of the artists who worked for these local Christians worked for the Crusaders from time to time as we have seen. In sum, at the present time we can use as our working hypothesis the idea that Crusader Art is made for a Crusader patron and/or produced by a Crusader artist in the mainland Crusader States. We must insist that the picture we have of Crusader Art today in the first decade of the twenty-first century has changed dramatically from what we knew about it in 1875, 1940, or even 1960. And we must be aware that our knowledge of Crusader Art today continues to change, and will change in the future, particularly when new Crusader manuscripts, icons, frescoes, glass, and metalwork are identified from hitherto unknown sources.

That all having been said, we can conclude this discussion of Crusader Art by reflecting on its significance in the Medieval European world. We have seen how Crusader Art was linked to Western Europe throughout its development, one way or other. In view of the flow of Crusaders, pilgrims, travelers, and merchants, and even a few western artists to the Crusader East, we may wonder what the Crusader East sent back to Western Europe, artistically

speaking. More specifically we can ask how Crusader Art was important for the European West and to what extent Crusader Art had an impact on the art of Medieval Europe?

We have tried to characterize how Crusader Art is a distinctive development. To what extent is Crusader Art a European art? Looking back to *c.* 1100 in the West when Crusader Art began, we can realize that in Europe, this was the great age of the Romanesque Pilgrimage Road Churches dedicated to Santiago de Compostela. This was also the age of the reformed Benedictine Orders. There were the Cluniacs and their great monastic church, Cluny III, with its magnificent figural sculpture and fresco decoration. There were the Cistercians with their austerely beautiful Romanesque, and later, Gothic monasteries, so chaste and spare. Romanesque architecture was obviously important for the Crusaders, as the expansion and renovation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem makes clear. The idea of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Tomb of Christ was also important in the West, as numerous "copies," partial and schematic to our eyes, nonetheless indicate.[2] In architecture, sculpture and painting in fact, the Crusaders retained European connections to these various developments. But they acted on this heritage independently, and they transformed it with the Byzantine and other local Christian artistic traditions they found in the East.

By the mid-twelfth century, this was the era of the beginning of French Gothic architecture in Europe, seen especially at St. Denis, at Sens Cathedral, and on the west façade of Chartres Cathedral. Early Gothic led to High Gothic in France, and then by the mid-thirteenth century to Rayonnant Gothic epitomized by the Sainte Chapelle and the nave and transepts of St. Denis. Certain aspects of Gothic architectural development in the West seem parallel to developments in the Crusader East, but they are mostly indirect, and often quite separate features, such as ribbed vaulting. Crusader churches are often combinations of Romanesque and Levantine components with Gothic details. In the past, of course, some scholars have proposed to see the advent of the pointed Gothic arch in the West, so fundamental to Gothic architectural design and construction, as an inspiration from the Near East. But the origin and the Western European development of the pointed arch seems linked to neither the Arabs nor the Crusaders. It may be true that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem introduces the broad graceful shape of the Crusader pointed arch in the 1140s, which is parallel in time to French Gothic examples on churches like St. Denis and Chartres. But the French examples are different in size and shape, and the Crusader arches seem closely connected to Arab examples in Cairo and Ramla from the tenth and eleventh centuries. In general, as European artistic ideas make their way to the Crusader East, they often appear somewhat later, selectively applied, and usually integrated with eastern ideas to form a new multicultural result that is distinctively Crusader.

So, Crusader Art, we would argue, plays a significant role in the Medieval World, developing its own distinctive character in the Eastern Mediterranean world, specifically in the Holy Land, standing in some way between the European West and the Byzantine East. But in the process of establishing its own separate identity and independent character, it also participates in the larger European Christian world. On the whole, one of the most important roles Crusader Art seems to serve in relation to Western Europe is as a major transmitter of the Byzantine-inspired artistic tradition from East to West. There can be no doubt about how important Byzantine art is to the development of Crusader Art. But just how the art of the Crusaders served to convey these artistic ideas to Italy, to France, and even to England is yet to be fully understood. We cannot yet say clearly overall how Crusader painting, sculpture, metalwork, or how Crusader artists, or how Crusader patrons conveyed ideas inherent in Byzantine art to the European West. The argument has been made that Crusader Art formed the function of being an intermediary between the Byzantine East and the Latin West, and a few specific examples have been successfully offered. But in the bigger picture, it is still difficult to account for the proposed importance of Crusader Art as *a,* or even *the major* stimulus for Byzantine influence in the West, as opposed to direct influence from the Byzantines themselves, or through other Italian intermediaries, such as the Venetians. What major evidence is there for Crusader Art playing such an important role in transmitting the Byzantine artistic tradition to the West?

A few observations will indicate why this is an art historical question that continues to require serious attention. In the first place, the dynamics of Byzantine artistic influence on the West became a major issue since the 1960s, partly based on the many studies that emerged in that decade demonstrating important examples of the Byzantine artistic impact on works of art in Western Europe.[3] This impact can be seen in manuscript illumination, ivory carving, fresco painting, mosaics, and enamel work from long before the advent of the Crusades, and especially from the eleventh century on. In a number of important examples, the origin of the Byzantine influence can be linked to Greek artists traveling and working in the West, in Italy especially.

As we have seen, the Crusader States in the twelfth century produced a new art, Crusader Art, which also demonstrated great interest in the Byzantine artistic tradition, an interest that was independent and derived from the strong Byzantine presence in the Holy Land and nearby in Constantinople and in Cyprus. This new Crusader Art then begins its role as the generator of ideas and influence in the West. Scholars in the 1960s and 1970s begin to find possible examples in England, in France, in Germany and in Italy, especially in Italy, where what we are calling "Crusader Art" is the source of "Byzantine influence." During the twelfth century, of course, the Byzantine Empire continues to be a major power, and Byzantine art reached important new aesthetic achievements during the later years of the Komnenian dynasty. Some of the most beautiful Byzantine icon painting is found at this time embellished with the uniquely Byzantine invented decorative feature of chrysography, or golden highlighting. Chrysography had been reinvented in Byzantium following iconoclasm, perhaps as early as the tenth century.

The Byzantine world of course changed abruptly at the start of the thirteenth century. With the disaster of 1204, Constantinople is lost to the Byzantines for more than fifty years, and a wave of Byzantine reliquaries and other works of art are sent to the West as booty from the conquest of the Crusader army. The serenely continuous development of Byzantine art in Constantinople is interrupted until it can be resumed after 1261. In the meantime Crusader artists in the Latin Empire of Constantinople produce some works of Crusader Art, but the evidence is very scarce and we know very little about it as yet. From 1204 to 1261 Byzantine art continues in certain far-flung centers outside of Constantinople, not the least of which is the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. As Byzantine art continues, use of chrysography passes to the Crusaders, and Crusader icon painters, just as it was passed to Italian mosaicists in Venice, Florence, Rome, and Sicily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Meanwhile in Italy in the thirteenth century panel painting flourishes under strong Byzantine influence, and later Italian writers such as Alberti, Ghiberti, and Vasari refer to this phenomenon as the *maniera greca* with reference to the impact of Byzantine style on Central Italian painters.[4] But in the second half of the thirteenth century, arguably it is Crusader artists, that is, Crusader icon painters, who play an important role in transmitting the Byzantine tradition to the West.[5] We can identify this role partly through the specific Crusader use of chrysography and the transfer of its technique and forms to Italian panel painters, especially in central Italy.

When we observe what happens to these Crusader icon painters and to the Central Italian panel painters at the end of the thirteenth century, I think we can glimpse how important Crusader Art had become in transmitting Byzantine artistic ideas to Italy and the West. In the period from about 1260 onward many of the greatest Central Italian panel painters, such as Guido da Siena, Coppo da Marcovaldo, Cimabue, and Duccio execute their altarpieces in a manner which shows their strong stylistic interest in the "Byzantine tradition." Many of these altarpieces are notable because of their detailed use of chrysography. But after Crusader Art ends in 1291, when the Crusader States are overrun by the Mamluks, the strength and vibrancy of the Byzantine-influenced style in Italy rapidly diminishes. Arguably one of the last major examples of the use of chrysography in Central Italy is the great altarpiece of the Maestà, painted by Duccio in 1308–1311. And the next great artist in the Tuscan development, Giotto, does not use chrysography at all. Why is this?

Clearly part of the reason is that one of the major means of transmitting Byzantine artistic ideas to the West was abruptly cut off. When the Crusader States ceased to exist

in the summer of 1291, Crusader Art, the Crusader artists, and the Crusader patrons, and whatever other mechanisms that had been in place to facilitate the transmission of Byzantine and Crusader artistic ideas from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, ceased to exist as well. The importance of the role which Crusader Art played in this phenomenon can be appreciated when we realize that even though the art of the Crusaders ended, Byzantine art continued. Indeed Byzantine art continued and even flourished in the fourteenth century and beyond. But deprived of their means of access to the Byzantine artistic ideas by the collapse of Crusader artistic transmission, Central Italian painters suddenly and dramatically chose to pursue different goals in the development of their Medieval Art. Giotto in particular, one of the greatest of Italian Medieval painters, does not paint in the style of the *maniera greca* and never experiments with the use of chrysography. As the generation of Cimabue and Duccio ended – a generation of artists who owed a great deal to the heritage and stimulus of the Byzantine tradition transmitted by Crusader Art – the new generation of Giotto takes over, a generation with new artistic interests and goals. In a remarkably short time the legacy of Crusader Art is lost in Italy and Crusader–Byzantine ideas give way to new concerns dealing with dramatic narrative, psychological naturalism, and the close study of nature explored by Giotto and others.

The end of the thirteenth century was therefore a time of momentous change in art, and one of those changes was the disappearance of Crusader Art and its links to Western Europe. Crusader Art had a remarkably brief lifetime and yet had a surprisingly rich and complex development. Crusader Art, an art that had started out *c.* 1100, suddenly ended in 1291, and with its end, the amazing strength and sophisticated elegance of the Byzantine tradition that it had carried westward ended with it, in Central Italy and in many other places all over Europe.

Notes

1. D.M. Metcalf, *The Silver Coinage of Cyprus, 1285–1382*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996, pp. 39 ff., pls. 6 ff.
2. Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1999, *passim*.
3. For example, the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 20 (1966) contained a report on the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1965, which dealt with "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In 1966, Otto Demus gave the Wrightsman Lectures at NYU, which were published as, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York: New York University Press, 1970, and in 1970 the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York staged a monumental exhibition on the occasion of its centennial year entitled, "The Year 1200." The catalogue volume and a background survey volume, both published in 1970, and a volume of symposium papers, published in 1975, included many entries and articles pertaining to the issue of "Byzantine art and the West."
4. James Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth-Century Italian Panel Painting," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 20 (1966), pp. 87 ff.
5. Kurt Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," in Irmgard Hütter, ed., *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984, pp. 143–70.

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